Linda Boyd at the rebirth of LA County's GOP

CALIFORNIA ★ POLITICAL
REVIEW
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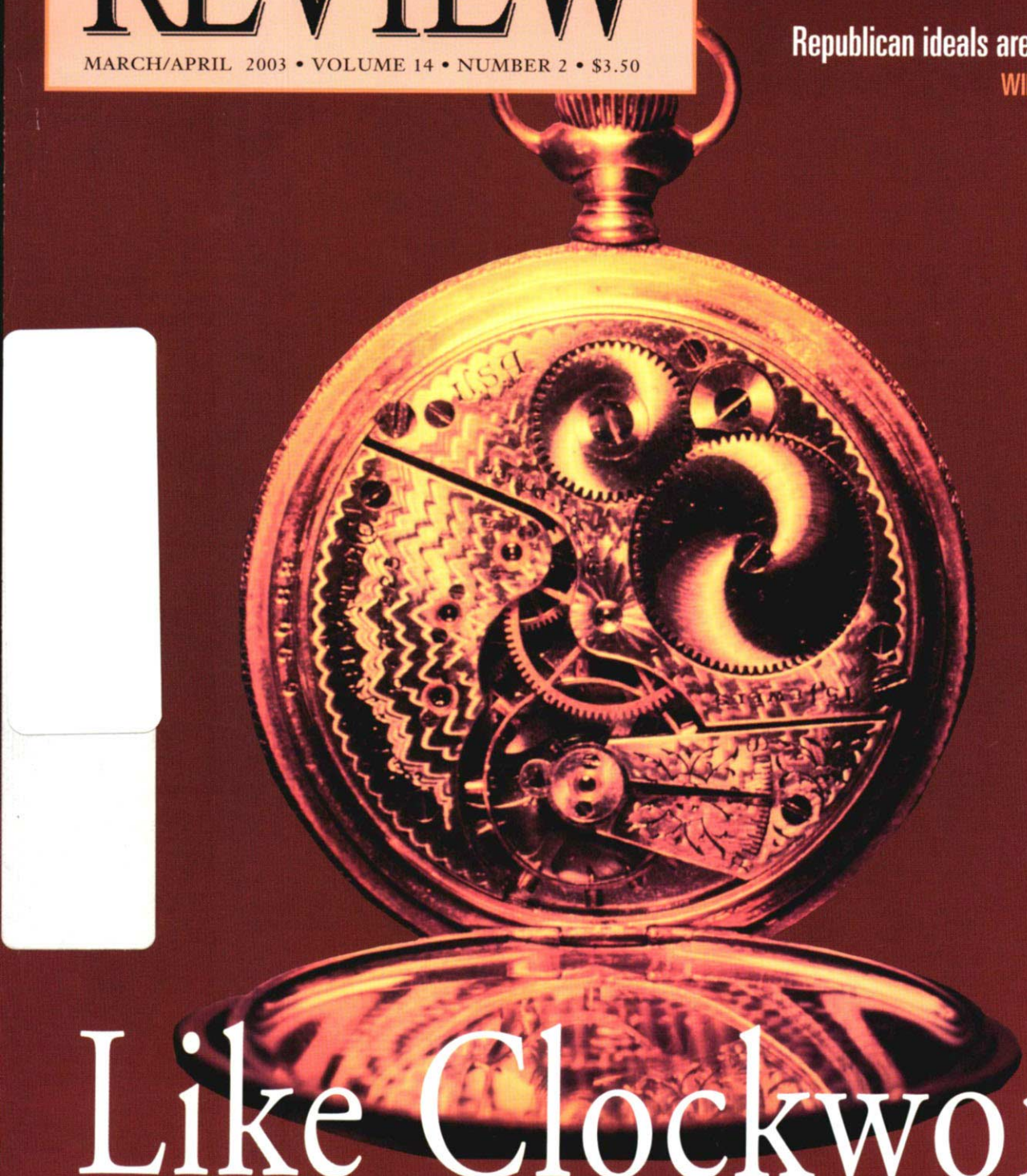
Will the real 'Party of Big Business' please stand up?
WILLIAM E. SARACINO

Republican ideals are alive and well
WILLIAM E. SIMON, JR.



Like Clockwork

Crafting a smooth-running, highly effective county party

Ron Nehring

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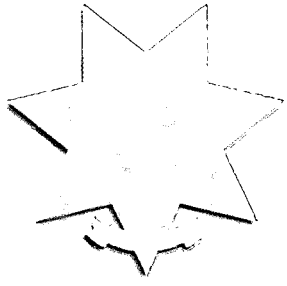

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FEATURES

COVER ARTICLE: Like clockwork By Ron Nehring 13
Crafting a smooth-running, effective county party.
Linda Boyd — At the Rebirth of LA County's GOP

Republican Ideals - Alive and Well By William E. Simon, Jr. 23
As Democrat leadership failures mount, the press concludes *Republican* ideas are finished.

Will the *Real* Party of Big Business Please Stand Up? By William E. Saracino 25
Perception *vs.* reality: the mega-Corps are in the Democrats' pocket.

Fiscal Sanity By John Campbell 28
Perhaps some good can come from the budget mess after all.

And A Special Front Line: The Scouts Win Again By Russell G. Shubin 5
This time in Ventura County, the left attempted to cut off charitable funding from the United Way.

DEPARTMENTS

Correspondence 2
Sacramento Spectator 3
The Law By Mark S. Pulliam 4
Facts on Gun Control By Sam Paredes 6
Those in Power Over Us By M. David Stirling .9
The Working Press By George Neumayr....31

ARTS & CULTURE

Criticus By G.B. Tennyson 36
Have We Got Mail? Once a manifestation of of Burke's "unbought grace of life," the mail, like so much else, isn't what it used to be. Indeed, in many respects, the mail isn't even the mail anymore.

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CORRESPONDENCE

What Would Reagan Do?

Recently, while cutting back the Bougainvillaeas in our garden, I reflected upon your review of Peter Hannaford's *Ronald Reagan and His Ranch* ("A Window Into a Great Man's Soul," William E. Saracino, *CPR*, Jan./Feb. 2003). Hannaford's depiction of a relaxing Reagan as he mended fences and worked with pick or shovel at his beloved ranch reminded me that I could approach my annual pruning task with appreciation of the outdoors and look for satisfaction in physical exertion.

As I thought of Reagan at work, it occurred to me that perhaps during *his* physical toil he also mentally ruminated — perhaps about important decisions he was expected to produce, perhaps about more pleasurable endeavors, such as which trail to guide his horse along after he quit ranch work for the day.

In these unusually uncertain times, I wish we could ask him what he would do were he president. I wonder how he would try to correct the mistakes made by leaders since he left office and how he would counsel our nation's leaders. I think he would want to rid our world of tyranny, too. But just hearing him state what must be done — and why — would clear my muddled thinking about it.

Alas, he is not available to do that. So I clear my mind the next best way, imitating the great president, cutting back the "brush" behind my home. Thank you for an inspiring look into Ronald Reagan's great soul.

Linda Robertson
Sunnyvale

The Wrong Gregory

I see, to my considerable embarrassment, that in the previous number of *CPR* ("The Criticus Calendar," Jan/Feb 2003) I mistakenly attributed the revision known as the Gregorian Calendar to Pope Gregory the Great (540-604) when in fact it was effected by Pope Gregory XIII (1502-1585). Constant Readers, please amend your Criticus Calendars and accept my apologies. Note, too, that Gregory XIII has no feast day, as he was never canonized. I am not responsible for that.

Criticus

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SACRAMENTO SPECTATOR

One of the great success stories of conservative politics in the 1990s was the out-of-nowhere victory of Tracy Republican Richard Pombo in defeating liberal Sacramento County Supervisor Sandra Smoley in the 1992 GOP primary, in what was then a new congressional seat drawn for Smoley. Pombo went on to dispatch Patty Garamendi in the general election and headed off to Washington, D.C., as a boot-wearing, soft-spoken youngster.

Now, a decade later, Pombo has ascended to the upper levels of power on Capitol Hill. The rancher, who has always been a critic of the property rights violations perpetrated under the federal Endangered Species Act, has won the chairmanship of the powerful House Resources Committee.

The howls from left-wing environmentalists indicate Pombo, true to his convictions, will push for serious reforms of the ESA and other extremist environmental laws .... Not bad for a kid with a bad haircut from Tracy.

Democrats may be in power everywhere in Sacramento, but several polls conducted after the new year suggest they're paying a steep political price for their near-total control. Californians view legislative Republicans more favorably than they do legislative Democrats, but reserve their really bruising numbers for Gray Davis.

All available polling shows his "favorable" rating in the 20s, pathetically low. What must really worry Davis is that it's difficult to imagine any way of gaining any popularity with the plethora of tax increases and severe "rate-of-increase" budget cuts that lie ahead of him this year. (Note to liberaleze novices: for Capitol bureaucrats, the phrase "budget cut" does not mean spending less than we've been spending, it means spending only 8 percent of the 10 percent *increase* we'd planned, or 18 percent of the 20, or ... you get the picture.)

Gray's low poll numbers are fueling speculation about a legitimate "Recall Davis" effort that could be launched later this year to supplant the current efforts that are not regarded as serious for lack of funding.

One of the polls showing Davis about as popular as New Coke also shows George W. Bush in California leading all announced Democrat candidates. He even leads one unannounced candidate, Hillary Rodham Clinton. Republicans should take heart that California could be a Bush state in '04. Your *Spectator's* sources closest to Bush's intimates in California indicate that Team Rove has not ruled California out of grasp.

With Barbara Boxer sounding like a French Foreign Minister whining over U.S. war plans, the field of would-be candidates against her is slowly taking shape. From the congressional delegation, Representatives Doug Ose (Sacramento), George Radanovich (Fresno), and Darryl Issa (Escondido) are all considering a run against Boxer. Ose appears to be the most serious and has personal wealth to spend. It is unlikely that both Radanovich and Issa will run, which would divide the conservative vote.

Also stalking the race are radio talk show hosts Michael Reagan and Dennis Prager. Bill Simon told the *Sacramento Bee* at the end of January that he was possibly interested in running as well. So far the talk show hosts are ... well, all talk, but the congressmen have consultants working on their behalves.

—A. P. C.

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THE LAW

Blacklisting the Boy Scouts

In the pursuit of tolerance, liberals brook no dissent

MARK S. PULLIAM

THE BOY SCOUTS of America are under attack, again ... this time from the organized bar associations of — surprise! — San Francisco, Los Angeles, and Santa Clara counties. First, a little background:

Notwithstanding the 2000 U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Boy Scouts of America v. Dale,* affirming the Scouts' constitutional rights of free association and expression permitting them to exclude avowed homosexuals as adult leaders, the Boy Scouts have continued to face a steady stream of challenges in politically-correct communities. As punishment for exercising its First Amendment rights, the venerable group has faced denial of United Way participation, denial of access to public facilities provided to other non-profit organizations (such as Berkeley's revocation of a free berth at a publicly-owned marina), and the withdrawal of sponsorship by public agencies (such as the Los Angeles Police Department). Kowtowing to political pressure, some longstanding supporters of the Boy Scouts have abandoned the organization. Director Steven Spielberg, a former Eagle Scout whose most famous film character, Indiana Jones, was depicted as a Boy Scout in the movie *The Last Crusade,* resigned from the national board of the Boy Scouts amid much fanfare in April 2001. Predictably, the Oscar-winning filmmaker was feted by liberal groups for his perfidy.

However — contrary to the impression one might form from a review of major media reporting — all this anti-Scout hysteria, and, what underlies it, the anti-family ideology of the far left, is much more the exception than the rule around the nation and the state. Many *other* communities — the city of San Diego, for instance — have stood behind the nearly century-old group, in which millions of boys participate. The Boy Scouts are widely regarded as an "All American" organization in the same league with motherhood, apple pie, and the Fourth of July. And deservedly so.

In 1916, the U.S. Congress issued the Boy Scouts a special charter in recognition of their public service during World War I. Norman Rockwell, one of America's most popular artists, began his long and prolific career in 1912 as an illustrator for the Boy Scouts' handbooks and, in 1913, as art director of *Boy's Life,* the official Boy Scouts of America magazine. (Nearly 40 million copies of *The Boy Scouts Handbook* have been printed since 1911, making it one of the most popular books of all time; *Boy's Life* is still published monthly, with 1.3 million subscribers.) Throughout his life, Rockwell continued to paint evocative posters and calendars for the Boy Scouts, featuring images of Scouts juxtaposed with the American flag, soaring bald eagles, George Washington, the Liberty Bell, and other patriotic symbols. No artist better expressed our national spirit, and the Boy Scouts were one of his favorite subjects. The U.S. Postal Service has issued postage stamps honoring the Boy Scouts.

EAGLE SCOUTS, holders of Scouting's highest rank (achieved by only 4 percent of Scouts), have gone on to excel as athletes, explorers, leaders, healers, astronauts, and businessmen. Gerald Ford, Neil Armstrong, H. Ross Perot, Sam Nunn, Bill Bennett, Bill Bradley, Henry Aaron, Willie Banks, J. Willard Marriott, Sam Walton, animator Bill Hanna, balloonist and record-holder Steve Fossett, heart transplant pioneer William Devries, eight sitting U.S. Senators, 13 Representatives, and countless other distinguished Americans are Eagle Scouts. Scouting is nonpartisan. More than half of the current Congress participated in scouting, and many still do, as adult volunteers and leaders.

Since the Boy Scouts were founded in 1910, more

Mark S. Pulliam, California Political Review's *legal issues correspondent, is an attorney in private practice in San Diego.*

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THE FRONT LINE

The Scouts Win Again

by Russell G. Shubin

The Boy Scouts just won another victory, this time in California's Ventura County, in a battle that illuminates the genuine character of both the left's anti-Scouting/anti-family crusade of the last few years and of two organizations figuring prominently in it: the Scouts, of course, and the United Way.

This win is the latest of many. The Scouts have beaten back legal challenges mounted in many state courts (including California's) and finally, after a grueling legal battle, in the U.S. Supreme Court. Infuriated anti-family leftists have continued attacking Scouting whenever and wherever they've seen a chance.

For anyone who's been on Mars the last few years, Boy Scouting's refusal to abandon its pro-family beliefs and concern for the safety of the boys entrused to it, taking the common sense form of disqualifying practicing homosexuals from leading troops of boys as Scout Masters, has the left pouring vitriol on the organization, accusing it of "discrimination" on the basis of "sexual preference."

Russell G. Shubin is editorial director of national news and public affairs at Salem Communications, a media corporation based in Ventura County.

Few Americans buy the argument — a June 2000 national Gallup poll found two-thirds (64 percent) of respondents agree with the Boy Scout policy — but no one ever said the left was any more enamored with democracy than it is with the Constitution or rule of law. The current tactic is to try to cut off the Scouts' charitable funding. But that funding comes from the same public that supports the Scout policy, so the left's campaign has had to resort to dishonesty. Rank "telling the truth," for the left, alongside democracy and the Constitution.

This battle erupted last fall when the United Way of Ventura County announced that henceforth no funds would go to the Boy Scouts unless they said, in writing, that openly homosexual applicants could be Boy Scout leaders or members. The Ventura United Way has long supported the local Scouts, providing up to $50,000 a year, so not only were the Boy Scouts surprised, United Way supporters, including many local board members, were as well.

The local Boy Scout board voted not to apply for any United Way funding from that point forward. A cadre of previous and new Scouts supporters stepped up to aid the Ventura Council, forming the Friends of Ventura County Scouts, committed to filling the dollar gap through a grass-roots matching funds effort. So far, the "Friends'" "Tribute to Scouts" campaign has generated $206,000 in donations and pledges for the Scouts, against the $50,000 loss in United Way funding. The details of how it all happened are, as mentioned above, illuminating.

* * *

Blindsided may best describe how Denny and Allyson Weinberg felt when they heard of the United Way's new "policy." The Weinbergs are generous people who have done well in life, and have done exceedingly well in giving back to their community in Ventura County. Denny is an executive at WellPoint Health Networks, the parent company of Blue Cross/Blue Shield and one of the county's largest employers. He is also a firm believer in United Way's mission as a low cost financing umbrella organization aiding the community's health and human

(Please turn to page 34)

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than 110 million youths have participated as members. The Boy Scouts currently have more than 3.3 million youth members, more than 1.2 million volunteer adult leaders, and more than 125,000 separate units, such a troops and dens. Scouting's goal to is develop character, devotion to God and country, and commitment to others through a program of outdoor adventure, practical skills, and service projects. The Boy Scouts' enduring popularity is a testament to the success of its mission. The history, tradition, and ideals of the Boy Scouts make them a peculiarly cherished organization — a national icon.

YET, THEY have opponents. Atheists, homosexual political pressure groups, and the ACLU brought a series of highly-publicized, though ultimately unsuccessful, lawsuits seeking to ban the Scouts' exclusion of members and leaders who reject Scouting's core beliefs and principles. Despite losing all the lawsuits, including the landmark *Dale* decision, anti-family groups continue to press the fight. The latest attack comes from an unlikely source — the organized bar. The San Francisco, Los Angeles, and Santa Clara county bar associations want the state Supreme Court to prohibit California's 1,600 state court judges from being members of the Boy Scouts. Specifically, these bar associations have petitioned the Court to revise the ethical rules governing state judges so that a judge would violate the Code of Judicial Ethics — and be subject to censure or removal from office — by membership (or active participation) in the Boy Scouts.

What is it about the Boy Scouts that warrants this ban — that makes its members unfit to serve as judges? Is it the "Scout Law," which says a "Scout is trustworthy, loyal, helpful, friendly, courteous, kind, obedient, cheerful, thrifty, brave, clean, and reverent"? Do critics of the Boy Scouts object to the Scout Motto, "Be Prepared"? Does the Scout Slogan ("Do a Good Turn Daily") cause the controversy? No. The most recent salvo is based solely on the last two words of the Scout Oath, which has remained unchanged for decades: "On my honor I will do my best to do my duty to God

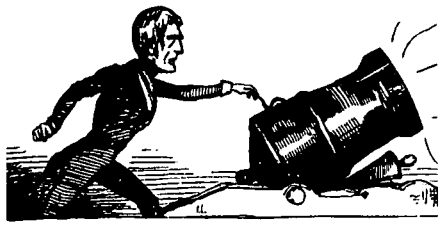
WHAT YOU HAVEN'T BEEN TOLD ABOUT GUN CONTROL

By SAM PAREDES

Our friends in Merry Olde England, apparently forgetting their legendary heroes, defenders of hearth and home, King Arthur, Robin Hood, and William Wallace, now more resemble bumbling Monty Python Knights shouting "Neeh"!

For 80 years, the British Parliament has assumed that eliminating guns will end crime and violence, systematically disarming its citizens — make that *subjects* — in order to protect them. It's now illegal to own virtually any handgun or rifle, most shotguns, and even air guns, with very few exceptions.

And the result? Rising crime. The criminals don't seem to want to cooperate. Soaring violence in Great Britain includes a 35 percent jump in *gun* crimes in one year alone. You're now six times more likely to be mugged in London than in New York City. The UN reports the highest incidence, among the top 18 industrialized nations, of "very serious" offenses are in England and Wales. England and Wales surpass the United States in every major type of crime except murder and rape. American burglars rarely (13 percent of the time) attack occupied homes for fear of getting shot. But in England, burglars fearlessly attack *53 percent* of the time while folks are at home. Why? Because British burglars have no fear of injury. They know there are too few "Bobbies" to stop them and their victims are as defenseless as sheep.



Facing gun control's obvious failure, the British *could* return to their roots, reaffirming their 1689 Bill of Rights guarantee that citizens can "have arms for their defence." Remembering Robin Hood, they could trust themselves to be masters of their own fate and security. They could do that, but instead Tony Blair's Labor government is proposing yet *more* disarming of law-abiding "subjects," removing all remaining guns — BB guns, low-powered pellet guns, perhaps pea shooters — anything that shoots and can be used in self-defense. Robin Hood? The Brits seem more inspired to emulate the pathetic Monty Python knight who tries to fight after losing both arms and both legs. It made for laughs on film, but not as policy to protect people from crime. CPR

Sam Paredes is executive director of Gun Owners of California.

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and my country and to obey the Scout Law; to help other people at all times; to keep myself physically strong, mentally awake, and morally straight." These last two words represent the Boy Scouts' commitment to conventional sexual morality: monogamous heterosexual activity within the context of marriage. In short, this group believes in and supports the family.

But several bar groups object to these moral views, calling them discriminatory. By opposing homosexual *conduct* as immoral, critics charge, the Boy Scouts discriminate against homosexuals. The critics say that allowing judges to belong to such a "discriminatory" group (like belonging to a country club that bars women or Jews), fosters a perception of bias against litigants and counsel who are homosexual, which, were it true, would be contrary to the canons of judicial ethics. (Even the bans' proponents concede they have no evidence that judges active in Scouting exhibit actual bias.)

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This is quite a leap, because disapproval of homosexual conduct is *not* equivalent to "discrimination" on the basis of racial or religious bigotry. After all, the Boy Scouts oppose homosexual conduct for the same reason that they oppose other sexual behavior — adultery, promiscuity, polygamy, and so forth. In their view, it is immoral. The Supreme Court has ruled that the Boys Scouts have a First Amendment right to hold and express that belief. Moreover, there is no logical reason to assume that disapproval of a behavior results in bias against an entire group. Many people disapprove of smoking and drinking, yet harbor no prejudice against smokers or drinkers. No one questions that Republican judges can act impartially toward Democrat litigants, or *vice versa.*

NONETHELESS, THESE bar associations want to change Canon 2 of the Code of Judicial Ethics, which provides that "[a] judge shall avoid impropriety and the appearance of impropriety in all the judge's activities." Canon 2 goes on to say that "[a] judge shall not hold membership in any organization that practices invidious discrimination on the basis of race, sex, religion, national origin, or sexual orientation." Including "sexual orientation" among the characteristics protected from discrimination presents problems, since most religions treat homosexuality as a sin, and the military proscribes it. Acknowledging that Canon 2 would literally forbid judges to belong to religious and military organizations, the ethics rules specifically exempt such membership, as well as "membership in a nonprofit youth organization," in order to "accommodate individual rights of intimate association and free expression." Although the Boy Scouts are not mentioned by name, the "nonprofit youth organizations" exception is widely regarded as "the Boy Scouts exception." The anti-Boy Scout bar groups want to repeal the exception to make the group off-limits for state court judges — literally, to blacklist the Boy Scouts, one of our nation's most popular and worthy organizations.

As its opening sentence suggests, Canon 2 is all about judges avoiding "impropriety." Membership in the Boy Scouts, a group whose constitutional rights the United States Supreme Court has affirmed, can hardly be considered "improper." As it happens, "the Boy Scouts exception" was created to protect *judges'* freedom of association and expression.

(How would the ban be enforced? Would membership records be monitored? Would Boy Scout meetings be surveilled? Would anonymous snitches be encouraged?) This is an assault on, and an attempt to impugn, a cherished American institution. One commentator characterizes the anti-Scout campaign as "the left's Taliban-like project of imposing a general conformity of thought on the country."

What will the California Supreme Court — which has sole responsibility for the content of the Code of Judicial Ethics — do in response to the bar groups' baseless, vindictive request? A December 19, 2002, press release issued by the Court states simply that the matter will be taken up for "additional review and analysis" at a "future administrative conference." Chief Jus-

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tice Ron George had an hour-long meeting with the blacklist proponents, including openly-lesbian outgoing San Francisco Bar Association President Angela Bradstreet.

Ms. Bradstreet objects to the Boy Scouts' disapproval of her lifestyle. She reportedly took umbrage at legal arguments the Scouts filed in defense of their pledge to be "morally straight," and in particular what she evidently considers to be the Scouts' assertion that homosexuals are "unclean" and *not* morally straight. Ron George, ever eager to curry favor with the organized bar, pledged that "All options are still open." But even to consider blacklisting the Scouts, in the face of *Dale,* shows contempt for the Scouts' First Amendment rights.

This much is clear: First, banning judges from membership in the Boy Scouts, if it occurs, will be challenged on First Amendment grounds and may force another U.S. Supreme Court showdown. So far, the Boy Scouts have a winning track record in court.

Second, if the California Supreme Court repeals the so-called Boy Scouts exception, look for atheists to go after the religious organization exemption next. If the Boy Scouts are blacklisted, the same logic would suggest that state court judges could be forbidden to belong to any church that regards homosexuality as a sin (this would include Judaism, Christianity, and Islam). The same phenomenon is evident on many college campuses, where in the guise of enforcing anti-discrimination policies, religious groups are being compelled to accept non-believers as members and leaders.

THIRD, AS civil libertarian Nat Hentoff points out, blacklisting the Boy Scouts — attempting to label this much-loved organization a pariah — insults free association and "mocks the Constitution."

Fourth, ordinary people love and support the Boy Scouts; it is elite groups such as the organized bar, the ACLU, NOW, etc. that seek to banish it, proving the late Christopher Lasch's thesis in his 1995 book *The Revolt of the Elites.* He argued that the "class struggle" has come full circle: instead of the masses posing a threat to social order and the traditions of our Western culture, elites are now the people who have lost faith and pose the threat. The new elites — the cosmopolitan "information class" (think Hollywood, network media, lawyers, and investment bankers) — are in revolt against "Middle America."

Good Judge Sweet

Let's give a cheer for Robert Sweet.
For as a judge he's hard to beat.
Common sense 'mongst judges is rare
But Robert Sweet has that to spare.
Now those who'd sue McDonald's for
Obesity can sue no more.
'Cause Robert Sweet tossed out their suit.
For their false claims he gave no hoot,
Said they should know--it's no surprise--
You put on weight with Macs and fries.
Said if McDonald's should be screwed
Then ev'ry rest'rant could be sued.
That makes no sense, the good judge said
And so for now the case is dead.
A toast, a toast to good Judge Sweet
Let's order up and start to eat.

— by Joy Skilmer*

Finally, if Ms. Bradstreet's brown shirts have their way, the New Inquisition will begin with this phrase: "Are you now, or have you ever been, a member of the Boy Scouts of America?" Perhaps burnings of The Boy Scouts Handbook will be next. The California Supreme Court can reject this proposal, or be remembered in the same dark chapter of history with Senator Joseph McCarthy, Roger Taney, and Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer — the civil liberties Hall of Shame. Recent retention elections have been a shoo-in for the California Supreme Court. Blacklisting the Boy Scouts could change that. Stay tuned. CPR

** The political verse of Joy Skilmer, né Lyn Nofziger, is available from MND Publishing, 573 Marina Rd., Deatsville, AL 36022. Keep up with Lyn's "musings" at: www. lynnofziger.com*

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State-imposed farm labor contracts

Davis-signed bill would deprive farmers of their property without due process of law, although both the California and U.S. Constitutions forbid it.

M. DAVID STIRLING

WHEN "THOSE IN POWER OVER US" — in particular, elected officials — act to abrogate historically private rights, they often hide their true purpose with lofty phrases about how their confiscatory act will cure some societal injustice or promote the collective good. It came as no surprise, then, that when Governor Davis signed legislation late last year effectively eliminating the long-standing constitutional freedom of contract for private parties within California's agricultural industry, his signing message obscured his real purpose:

"The 1975 law that gave farmworkers the right to be recognized at the bargaining table, the Agricultural Labor Relations Act (ALRA), had a significant impact on the rights, wages, and working conditions of California farmworkers. But it is clear that some parts of the system are broken. In nearly 60 percent of the cases in which a union wins an election, management never agrees to a contract ....

"The bottom line is that too many people who were supposed to benefit from the protections of the ALRA are left without a contract, without a remedy and without hope."

The legislation Davis signed requires a state mediator to write the terms and conditions of an agricultural labor contract if and when, after a specified period of collective bargaining, the grower and his employees' labor union have not reached agreement. The legislation's only guidance to the mediator is that he be "just and equitable." Except where based on erroneous facts, the mediator's contract is "final and binding" on the grower and employees. Only an Agricultural Labor Relations Board (ALRB) finding of mediator-corruption or surrounding misconduct authorizes the set-aside of the imposed contract. Finally, the legislation provides no real opportunity for review of this state-imposed contract by the courts.

For 27 years, ALRB members and general counsels appointed by and serving under both Democrat and Republican administrations have expended millions of taxpayer dollars administering this collective bargaining law. Under Republican governors, Democrats complained; under Democrat governors, Republicans complained. Yet, Governor Davis suggests the drastic legislation he signed was necessary because a recently-discovered flaw in the ALRA has, for more than a quarter-century, allowed a grower conspiracy to refuse reaching contracts with the United Farm Workers Union.

Prior to the ALRA's enactment in 1975, agricultural workers were the only sizable category of employees in the country not covered by the provisions of the National Labor Relations Act (NLRA) of 1935. When Jerry Brown became governor in 1975, his first major initiative was to sponsor, advocate, and negotiate the successful passage of California's landmark farm labor statute. Governor Brown's measure was decisively enacted with the support of the heavy Democrat majorities in both the Assembly and Senate, several members of which, along with Governor Brown, were politically and personally aligned with United Farm Workers union President Cesar Chavez.

DURING ITS first decade of operation, the ALRB was surrounded by heated and, at times, violent controversy, but this was not due primarily to the language of the new law. For the most part the ALRA was modeled after the NLRA, although it is true that Brown's Secretary of Agricultural and Services Agency, Rose Bird*, wrote several substantive differences from the

Mr. Stirling was Agricultural Labor Relations Board general counsel during Governor Deukmejian's administration, from 1983 to 1989. He is currently vice-president of Pacific Legal Foundation, a Sacramento-based public interest legal organization. Through the Free Enterprise Program, of which he is director, PLF goes to court to defend private contracts, from both government interference, and judges whose rulings rewrite contracts based on their personal preferences. He can be reached at mds@pacificlegal.org Website: www.pacificlegal.org

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NLRA into the law — provisions intended to give advantages or grant leverage to the UFW over a grower community viewed by the administration and most Democrat legislators as hostile to farmworkers. One ALRA provision, copied from the NLRA, requires agricultural employers to "bargain collectively in good faith" with labor organizations representing their employees, and reduce to writing any agreement reached. But, while both federal and state labor laws provide that the employer and union engage in an effort to reach a contract, the ALRA, consistent with the NLRA, "does not compel either party to agree to a proposal or require the making of a concession." (California Labor Code Sections 1153(e) and 1155.2(a).)

Thus, Governor Jerry Brown's collective bargaining statute for California agriculture stopped well short of compelling the consummation of a contract. As Brown's chief-of-staff at the time, Gray Davis was integrally involved in the administration's crafting and negotiation of the legislation. Surely Davis understood *then* that the ALRA did *not* usurp private parties' fundamental freedom of contract and that an owner's business and an employee's labor have historically been considered to be their private property. After all, the 14th Amendment's language is clear: "(N)or shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law." California's Constitution contains similar language.

DAVIS'S PUBLICALLY stated purpose in signing this intrusive-government legislation rings hollow for another reason as well. One of those pro-UFW elements Rose Bird specially wrote into the ALRA, not found in the NLRA, is the so-called "makewhole" remedy against growers for "failure to bargain in good faith" with their employees' union. The "makewhole" remedy is a wrecking ball swinging toward its target. Under it, the ALRB orders the grower to make his employees "whole" by paying them what they would have received had a contract been reached. To determine this figure, the ALRB devises a hypothetical contract, invariably providing much higher wages and benefits than the grower would have agreed to, and the difference between these wages and benefits and those actually paid is the amount owed the employees as "makewhole." It was primarily the creative, heavy-handed use of this "makewhole" remedy by the UFW-friendly ALRB during Jerry Brown's administration that earned the taxpayer-funded agency its reputation as one-sided and biased. But that's another story. The point is, no grower in control of his senses would knowingly subject himself, his family, or his farming operation to the severe economic consequences of the makewhole remedy. Yet, in signing the legislation, Davis spoke as though the ALRA contained no remedy for management's failure to agree to a contract.

What explains Governor Davis' conversion of this 27-year-old collective bargaining statute into a government-forced-contract statute? What explains his willingness to abrogate the fundamental freedom of contract founded in the federal and state constitutions? What causes him to justify his actions with lofty phrases that mischaracterize the situation he purports to cure? Although the simple answer to these questions is familiar even to casual observers of California government, few people comprehend the extent to which "politics" permeates this governor's perspective to the exclusion of higher considerations.

For example, when Davis signed this legislation on the last constitutionally-permitted day for doing so, he probably considered several factors: that election day was only 37 days away; that the energy-crisis, the large, lost state surplus, and the huge budget deficit (likely to prove much larger than the $20 billion figure he'd been using) were hurting his campaign; that polls showed his 1998 election-base softening further; that political commentators were suggesting his base might not be motivated enough to vote; that this legislation had been heavily lobbied by hundreds of UFW-aligned farmworkers; that thousands of Latino voters with affinity for the farm worker movement, nearly all of whom had voted for him in 1998, were already upset with him for vetoing the bill that would allow undocumented immigrants to get driver's licenses; that UFW co-founder and Latina legend, Dolores Huerta, who had recently suffered a near-fatal aneurysm, was threatening a hunger strike if Davis vetoed the bill; that were she to die while fasting, his re-election and anything beyond would be finished; that the $1.5 million contribution from growers who wanted him to veto the bill only made up for what they gave his opponent in 1998; that even though the law is probably unconstitutional, he'll be well into his second term before a high court says so and few people will then remember that his signature made it law; and that, besides, it's not really the governor's concern whether legislation is constitutional — that's for the courts.

And there, with the thought processes usually operating in Gray Davis's politics-obsessed mind, lies much of the reason California is in the mess it is. CPR

** Rose Bird served in Governor Jerry Brown's Cabinet from early in his administration until he appointed her California Supreme Court Chief Justice in March, 1977. She was a major drafter of the legislation that became the Agricultural Labor Relations Act of 1975.*

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The Peace Officers Research Association of California, representing more than 51,000 working men and women in law enforcement, welcomes the California Republican Party's Spring Convention.

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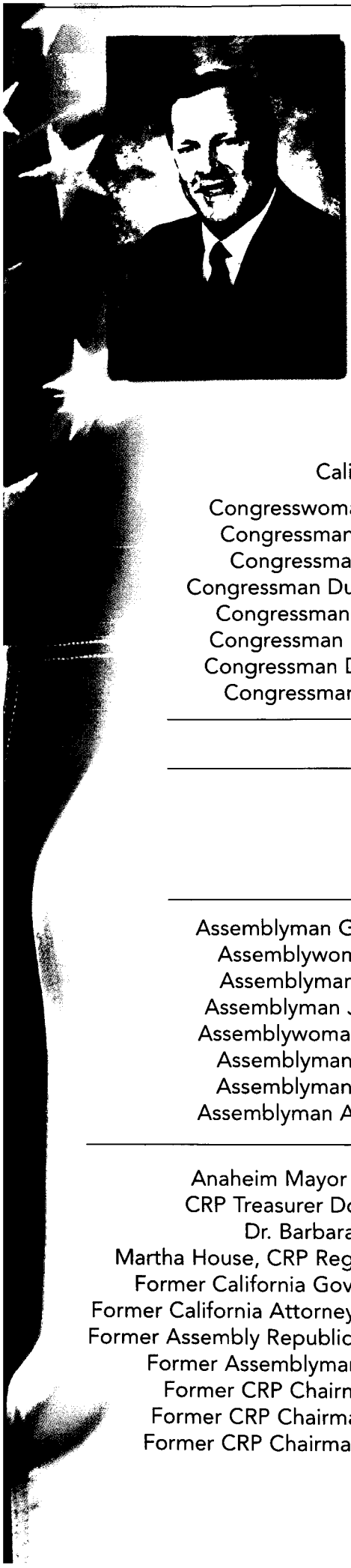

Duf Sundheim For CRP Chairman

Uniting our Party for Victory

The Official Endorsement of the
California Republican Congressional Delegation, led by:

Congresswoman Mary Bono
Congressman Ken Calvert
Congressman Chris Cox
Congressman Duke Cunningham
Congressman David Dreier
Congressman Elton Gallegly
Congressman Duncan Hunter
Congressman Jerry Lewis
Congressman Buck McKeon
Congressman Gary Miller
Congressman Devin Nunes
Congressman Doug Ose
Congressman George Radanovich
Congressman Dana Rohrabacher
Congressman Ed Royce
Congressman Bill Thomas

Board Of Equalization Member Bill Leonard

Senator Jeff Denham
Senator Ross Johnson
Senator Bob Margett
Senator Bruce McPherson

Assemblyman Greg Aghazarian
Assemblywoman Pat Bates
Assemblyman John Benoit
Assemblyman John Campbell
Assemblywoman Lynn Daucher
Assemblyman Tom Harman
Assemblyman Ken Maddox
Assemblyman Abel Maldonado
Assemblyman Bill Maze
Assemblyman Dennis Mountjoy
Assemblyman Keith Richman
Assemblywoman Sharon Runner
Assemblyman Steve Samuelian
Assemblyman Todd Spitzer
Assemblyman Tony Strickland

Anaheim Mayor Curt Pringle
CRP Treasurer Doug Boyd, Sr.
Dr. Barbara Stone
Martha House, CRP Regional Vice Chairman
Former California Governor Pete Wilson
Former California Attorney General Dan Lungren
Former Assembly Republican Leader Scott Baugh
Former Assemblyman George Runner
Former CRP Chairman Frank Visco
Former CRP Chairman John McGraw
Former CRP Chairman Tirso Del Junco
Former CRP Treasurer Michael Der Manouel, Jr.
Adam Probolsky, Probolsky and Associates
Board of Directors of the California Federation of Republican Women
Los Angeles County Republican Central Committee Executive Board
Los Angeles County Lincoln Clubs
Ventura County Lincoln Club
Northern California Lincoln Club
California Congress of Republicans
(partial list)

Duf SUNDHEIM
For CRP Chairman

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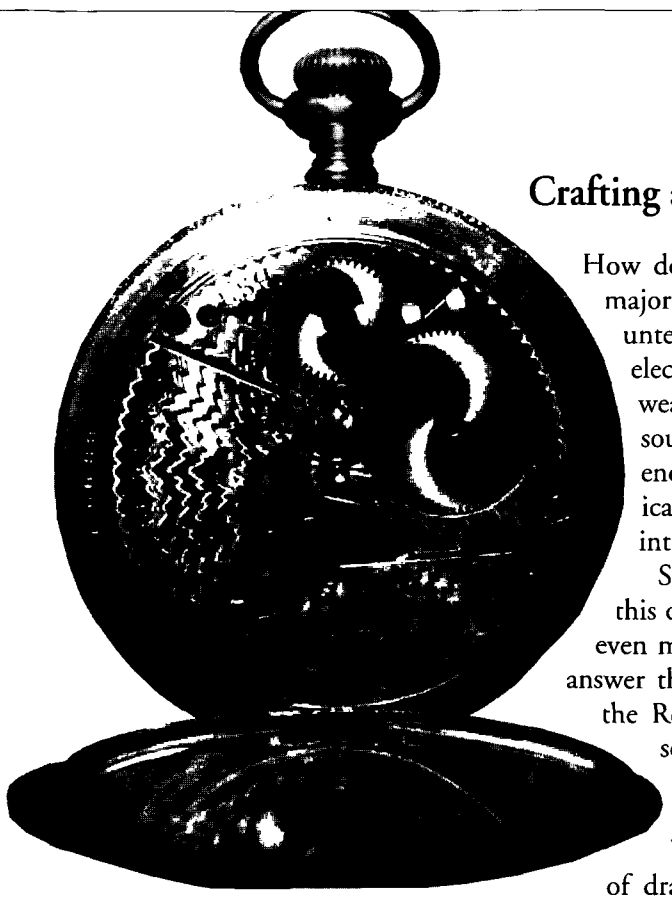
Like Clockwork



Ron Nehring

Crafting a smooth-running, effective county party

How do political parties win in American democracy? Both major parties in California can call on large numbers of volunteer activists, donors, candidates, elected officials, former elected officials, leaders, and members representing a wealth of energy, ideas, talent, skill, and financial resources. But the mere existence of these resources is not enough. They must be effectively organized into a political campaign organization that turns a partisan vision into reality.

So, how is that done? Both parties offer many answers to this question, some telling what to do, others — sometimes even more valuably — telling what to avoid. I would like to answer the question by talking about the recent experience of the Republican Party of San Diego County, where I have served as chairman for the last year and a half and as executive director during the 1990s. San Diego Republicans have no monopoly on good ideas, of course, but San Diego offers one of the best recent illustrations of dramatic improvement in partisan effectiveness. In any event, as I hope to show, the basic principles that worked there can be adapted to work in any California setting.

Rather than consider individual party activities and how each

Ron Nehring is chairman of the San Diego County Republican Party.

Crawling from the Wreckage:

The Rebirth of the Los Angeles County Republican Party

Linda Boyd

I won a hotly-contested race for chairman of the Republican Party of Los Angeles County January 11 at the head of a slate of candidates called the "No More Excuses Team." We picked that name because the former County officers seemed to have excuses for every program they were *not* undertaking and *more* excuses about why no progress could be made in the County. We were told the fault lay with the California Republican Party, the Republican National Committee, the major donors, the demoralized volunteers, the state of the economy, Los Angeles County's changing demographics, the invincibility of the Democrat/labor union machine, etc., etc., etc.

Our team took its inspiration from Ronald Reagan's question, asked when he began running for president: "If not us, who? If not now, when?" I knew a successful Republican Party operation could be run in LA County because I ran one the last several years in the 59th Assembly

Linda Boyd is chairman of the Los Angeles County Republican Party.

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could be improved, let's begin fresh: how would we organize a party from the ground up to fulfill its mission, making its vision for California become reality? Management experts say a plan's failure can usually be attributed to a faulty premise, faulty execution, or insufficient resources. In San Diego, we began with eight essential building blocks designed to provide a valid starting place, a reliable roadmap, and sufficient resources to bring success.

Eight Building Blocks

First, we established two premises:

1) *Vision:* our view of what the ideal California would look like.

2) *Mission:* the County Party's contribution to realizing the vision by electing candidates.

Next, before moving to specific strategies and tactics, we divided the playing field to make our job as straightforward as possible:

3) *Division of labor and responsibilities, one:* between the Republican Party and its candidates. Who is responsible for registering voters? Who develops the message? Should the party fund candidates, programs, or both?

4) *Division of labor and responsibilities, two:* between the state Party and county committees. Which organization recruits volunteers? Which is responsible for raising funds? Which develops voter contact programs? Which is responsible for communicating with absentee voters? Establishing clearly defined roles allows each committee to set measurable objectives.

Next, we recognized a basic political reality:

5) *Victory in a democracy requires coalition-building:* in a political system where the key is to persuade more people to follow you than the opposition, the side with the largest number of effective activists usually wins, especially over time.

On these bases, we were able to lay out our job clearly:

6) *Strategies:* specific goals and objectives for achieving the mission.

7) *Tactics:* specific programs developed and executed to reach the strategic goals.

8) *Logistics:* specific tasks undertaken by volunteers, donors, activists, staff, candidates, and elected officials to carry out the programs day-by-day.

These building blocks shaped everything we did in San Diego to win political victories. Let me examine each of them in more detail.

The Vision

How would we define the ideal California? One party might envision a California whose growing economy provides economic opportunity for all Californians; where individual liberties and freedoms are protected; where the rule of law is respected; where individuals and families are strong, safe, and secure; and where policies of personal responsibility prevail — that is one example of a Republican vision for California. A "successful" vision is positive, embodying the values shared by the various elements of the party's broad coalition — the interest groups, or "stakeholders," that come together in order to shape the community's political landscape. A successful vision is compelling enough to draw stakeholders to the party and inspire them to help realize its vision.

It is important to state the vision and mission clearly so all party stakeholders understand just what we, as a party, are striving to achieve.

The Mission

The Party's mission is to elect candidates running under its banner who, once elected, will support public policies that move our state and communities toward the party's vision. A party's vision and mission usually stir up little debate. This is understandable. By their nature, they are broad objectives — the trouble usually comes with the details. But it is important to state the vision and mission clearly so all party stakeholders understand just what it is we, as a party, are striving to achieve. That understanding holds the coalition together.

Successful candidates and party leaders know this. Candidates and party officials who convey an impression to donors, volunteers, and activists that they are involved only to win an office, get a job, satisfy their ego, or pad a resume lose support because it is evident they do not support the party's shared vision.

Divisions of labor

The next logical step after establishing vision and

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Linda Boyd

A Lincoln Clubs voter registration drive aimed to add half a million new Republicans by the next redistricting. Told nothing like it had ever been done before, Lincoln Club Chairman Robert Virtue said 'I guess we just don't know it can't be done.'

District, a major portion of which is in the County. It takes organization, leadership, and most of all, a will to win despite the odds.

Los Angeles County has become known as "The Black Hole" for Republican statewide and national candidates. If the County had floated off into the Pacific Ocean, President Bush would have won the national popular vote in 2000. Several 2002 Republican statewide candidates would hold office today but for the large margins their Democrat opponents ran up in Los Angeles County.

A year ago, the Los Angeles County Lincoln Clubs launched an ambitious voter registration drive aimed at adding half a million new Republicans to the County rolls by the next redistricting in 2011. Told that nothing like it had ever been done before, Lincoln Club Chairman Robert Virtue, a man I greatly admire, said "I guess we just don't know it can't be done." That's the spirit I wanted to bring to the official Republican Party. I called Central Committee Members around the County, and found many who felt as I did. That began the "No More Excuses" Team that swept all seven county-wide offices by two-to-one margins.

Monday after the election, I went to the County Headquarters in Alhambra to assess the situation. After three days of meetings and sifting through boxes of receipts, bills, and the Committee's three checking accounts, and considering our controller's estimate of expenses for the second half of January, I could see the bottom line: the County Party was more than $7,000 in debt. Two days later, I was handed a three-day "Notice of Eviction" for non-payment of rent and spent the next week scrambling to move us out of the office the Committee had occupied for more than 10 years. I arranged a little breathing room with creditors and began the daunting task of rebuilding.

Fortunately, San Diego County Republican Party Chairman Ron Nehring came to the rescue. Ron had turned around a dispirited San Diego County Party and built it into an electoral powerhouse in just a year and a half. Even better, he created a standardized model for how a County Republican Party should operate that he shares with any County chairman who asks for it. I asked — quickly — and received documents and computer discs containing excellent information on building a Finance Committee, creating and implementing a political plan, involving Republican nonpartisan elected officials, building a precinct structure, and all the other operations of a county central committee.

Frank Baxter, Bill Simon's statewide finance chairman, graciously agreed to chair a recreated United Republican Finance Committee (URFC) — the old LA County finance organization dating back to the 1950s, when Republicans built LA into one of the state's most effective and successful local Party committees. Mr. Virtue agreed to be URFC vice-chairman. That ended a 24-year rift that had divided the County Lincoln Clubs and the official County Party. The Lincoln Clubs will now once again work closely with the County Party and continue to have primary responsibility for Republican voter registration county-wide. Messrs. Baxter and Virtue restarted the defunct "Republican Statesman," a $5,000 major donor group, and already have six members. Taking a cue from Ron Nehring, I am establishing

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a Chairman's Circle ($1,000 annually), a Reagan Club ($250), and the Century Club ($100). The Lincoln Clubs will be our $500 club, remaining independent but working closely with the County to fund registration and other programs. Mr. Virtue will continue as Lincoln Clubs chairman.

The Republican Women's Federated will also play a prominent role in restoring the County Committee. Three of the seven new LA County Executive Board members — Secretary Linda Owens, Assistant Treasurer Lynne Davidson, and I — are Federated leaders. I have been an active Federated leader for five years. Federated ladies do most of the grassroots volunteer work for candidate and Party programs in California. They deserve and this Committee will give them the recognition and respect they have earned through their dedication and hard work.

Besides building a Finance Team and registering Republicans, the Committee has set the following priorities for the next two years:

- *United Republican Precinct Organization* In the 1960s and '70s, Los Angeles County's strong, active precinct structure covered the majority of precincts within the County. We will recreate it, beginning in strong Republican areas and progressing toward the goal of a Republican Precinct Captain in every precinct. No Assembly District will be left behind.

- *Candidate Research & Development* This vital committee, effective in the past, will be again. A well-run candidate committee not only insures that a Republican candidate will contest every partisan elective office, but will also support Republican candidates for non-partisan offices. Actually, there is no such thing as a "non-partisan" elective office. The goal is to locate, train, and field Republicans for every school board, city council, and water district in the County — and let Republican voters in all these elections know which candidates are Republican.

- *Los Angeles County Association of Republican Elected Officials* Local level Republican officeholders are the "farm team" supplying candidates for higher, partisan offices. The state Party has identified them. LA County will contact and bring them together into an organization for networking and training.

- *Candidate and Leader Training* Cooperating with the Candidate Research & Development Committee, Ron Nehring will conduct training seminars for volunteer leaders and prospective candidates.

Los Angeles County is far too large and vital to the state not to become a central component of Republican activity. Republican statewide candidates probably won't carry this large, complex county of ten million people in the immediate future, but they will win a victory here: it will lie in steadily increasing Republican county-wide turnout and vote totals. The goal is to win local, legislative, and congressional races in already strong but neglected Republican areas of the County while improving GOP performance in weaker areas, and to contribute decisively to GOP victories statewide.

To answer Ronald Reagan's question: the time is now, and we are the people who will get the job done. CPR

Actually, there is no such thing as a 'non-partisan' elective office. The goal is to locate, train, and field Republicans for every school board, city council, and water district in the County — and let Republican voters know which candidates are Republicans.

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mission is to spell out specific strategies for electing party candidates. But that is most often where differences of opinion begin to emerge. Some believe "message" is everything, others see money as the critical factor determining elections. Disputes may arise over principles, candidates, consultants, commissions, internal power struggles, differing views on the role of the media, and other factors. The discussion can easily become blurred.

To restore clarity and effectively determine which strategies best suit a political party, we began with the premise that we must have a clear division of labor and responsibilities between party and candidate, and, within the party, between the state party (CRP) and county committees.

Role of the candidate

I sometimes serve as faculty for Leadership Institute activist and candidate training schools. One of the first lectures in our Grassroots Campaign School is entitled "Strategic Research." In that lecture, we teach that research is the first step in preparing for a campaign, even preceding the decision to run in the first place.

Candidates have the responsibility, first, to research themselves, then the district, and finally their likely opponents. Only then can they make a reasonably informed decision to run, and develop a campaign and finance plan to make their candidacy successful. Political parties do not choose whether a candidate seeks an office; that decision must be made by the candidate himself.

While the Republican Party is often cited as the party of personal responsibility, too often unsuccessful candidates can be seen looking around for someone to else to blame for their defeat. "The party didn't help me," "the moderates didn't give me money," "the conservatives wouldn't carry my literature," "the caucus didn't come through." All that's missing is "the dog ate my homework."

One person alone is responsible for whether a candidate achieves victory on election day: the candidate. Before making the final decision to run for office, the candidate must develop a campaign plan and a finance plan that, together, answer two critical questions: How many votes do I need? And, how much money will I need to raise to get those votes?

The party would take responsibility for Republican voters, allowing candidates to focus their limited resources on non-Republican voters.

Those plans must be evaluated for feasibility when compared to the district, all the candidates involved, and the political environment. If he determines the plans are feasible and makes the decision to run, the candidate is then responsible for (1) ensuring the premises are valid, (2) seeing that the plans are executed properly, and (3) ensuring sufficient resources are brought to the campaign to implement the plan fully.

All this, properly, is candidate-driven.

Role of the party

The party's role is distinct from that of its candidates, but when fulfilled, makes its own necessary contribution to electoral victory.

The Republican Party of San Diego County defined the role of the party as being: maximize the size of its membership, tell its members which candidates the Republican Party supports, and maximize the number of members casting votes on election day. We would fulfill this role by enlisting the volunteers and raising the money necessary to carry out specific programs in these areas.

Put another way, the party would take responsibility for Republican voters, allowing candidates to focus their limited resources on those non-Republican voters necessary to achieve victory on Election Day. This represented a critical evolution in how the Republican Party approached campaigns in San Diego County. It recognizes that the party is the institution best suited to communicate with its own members, because those voters have made the conscious decision to identify with the Republican Party and are most likely to consider the party credible.

It also recognizes that the Republican Party is not the institution best suited to advocate to non-Republican voters. Think about it: a non-Republican registered voter has made a conscious decision against identifying with the GOP. But that same voter probably has *not* made the decision to reject a specific candidate, Republican or otherwise. Hence, the non-Republican voter will more likely be receptive to an appeal coming directly from a Republican candidate than to one from the Party itself.

Once we established this fundamental division of

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responsibilities (the Party focused on Republicans, candidates on non-Republicans), our strategic planning quickly fell into place. Republican candidates quickly accepted this division of labor as beneficial to them: relieved of the need to use limited resources to shore up their base, they were free to concentrate resources on non-Republican voters, a critical component of a campaign in all but the most lopsided Republican districts.

As a final element, before proceeding to specific strategies and tactics, we recognized a basic law of politics:

Live telephone calls have absolutely no impact on turnout.

Coalitions are key

In a democracy, political winners are determined, over time, by the number and effectiveness of each sides' activists. And political technology — the ability to organize and communicate — determines the number and effectiveness of a political movement's activists. The temperance, civil rights, and women's suffrage movements provide historical examples of how sufficient numbers of effective activists determine political outcomes over time.

Coalitions in European parliamentary democracies are built among political parties; in America, coalition-building occurs within political parties. A winning coalition consists of an array of stakeholders: volunteers, activists, donors, leaders, elected officials, and candidates. And winning political parties are those in which all stakeholders are convinced a victory for the party is a victory for them.

Clearly understanding our role, we determined five key strategic objectives, and developed sound, proven tactics (programs) to achieve those objectives.

Five Strategies

Strategy One: Maximize the size of the party's membership as measured by voter registration.

When I left my position as executive director of the Republican Party of San Diego County in 1997, Republicans outnumbered Democrats by more than 100,000. By 2001, that margin had shrunk to 68,018. With the exception of a slight uptick in 2000, the Republican advantage in registration had declined every year for four years. During that period, the Party conducted only limited and sporadic voter registration efforts. Republican women covered the annual Del Mar Fair, while a small group of volunteers covered new citizen swearing-in ceremonies. But their efforts only slowed what would otherwise have been an even quicker evaporation of the GOP registration advantage.

In 2001, Assemblyman Mark Wyland spearheaded a new voter registration program that combined full participation in the state Party's "Operation Bounty," which pays $3 per Republican registration gathered through the program, with expanded volunteer efforts. When I became chairman in July 2001, this operation was integrated into the Party organization accompanied by a renewed emphasis on volunteer registration activity.

As a result, the Republican advantage in registration that had slumped to 68,018 climbed to more than 83,000 in 15 months — a 21 percent increase. At new citizen swearing-in ceremonies, where Republican volunteers were outnumbered by several orders of magnitude for the last five years, our people suddenly outnumbered Democrats by 4- and 5-to-1. Monthly reports on our gains in registration not only gave our candidates a sense of momentum, but also provided our volunteers with the evidence demonstrating that their hard work truly pays off in measurable, demonstrable ways.

Many counties have implemented similar programs, with often dramatic results. In each case, aggressive Republican voter registration efforts provide a larger base for our candidates to draw upon.

Strategy Two: Connect Republican voters with Republican candidates.

California's ban on political party involvement in local, allegedly "non-partisan" elections was overturned in 1996 as an unconstitutional breach of parties' first amendment rights.

Recognizing every election in San Diego County as an opportunity to put Republican ideas into action, the County GOP collectively determined to make aggressive use of its powers to endorse and support candidates for every office from governor all the way down to water board and community planning group.

Republican ideas about lower taxes, accountable

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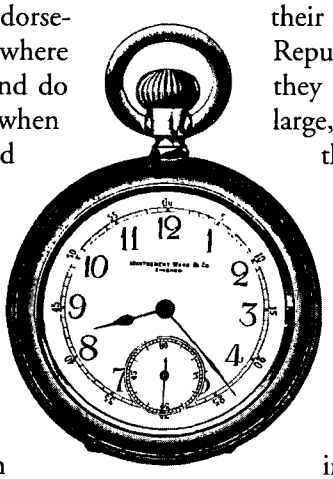
government, the free market, and academic excellence apply as well in city hall as they do in Washington, D.C., With a redistricting plan that puts Republicans at a disadvantage in winning the state Legislature, we recognized local offices as one area where we could actually implement Republican ideas. At the end of the day, we endorsed 238 candidates throughout the county.

Two questions had to be answered before we could consider requests for the party's endorsement: how do you deal with situations where more than one Republican is running?, and do incumbents receive special consideration when seeking re-election? First, we recognized that in partisan elections, the Republican electorate decides who shall be the Party's nominee, and thus who will carry the Party's endorsement. During primary campaigns, we would thus leave it to candidates to try to convince Party members that they will do the best job representing the Republican Party and Republican ideals in office and Republican voters would decide the issue.



But in "non-partisan" elections, with no primary, the responsibility to make that decision falls upon Republican voters' representatives: the County Central Committee members Republican voters have elected to serve in that capacity. County Central Committee members are elected to "conduct the Republican campaign," which includes endorsing candidates for local office.

Some argue the Party should make no endorsement when more than one Republican is running. We discarded that notion as impractical. The Republican Party cannot be neutralized in every race with more than one Republican candidate. As a duly-elected representative body, the County Central Committee represents the Republican electorate in choosing to endorse — or not endorse — any candidate. Contrary to what we expected, we faced few instances where more Republican candidates than there were seats available requested the Party's endorsement. In those few cases, the Party either endorsed the incumbent seeking re-election, or made no endorsement at all.

The principle of endorsing incumbents seeking re-election is important. Republicans elected to local office are far more interested in building a successful Republican Party when they recognize the Party (1) will support them, and (2) provides real, tangible benefits for those candidates it endorses. In addition, a general posture of re-electing Republican incumbents promotes unity, while encouraging would-be challengers instead to seek an office held by a non-Republican, or one with no incumbent running. This maximizes the Party's ability to increase the total number of offices it holds in the county.

Another reason for our endorsements: California's policy of withholding local office candidates' partisan registration from voters can keep them ignorant not only of candidates' party but, to some extent, of their governing philosophy. Experience told us Republican voters want that information so they can make an informed decision. By and large, Republican voters want to know who the Republican candidate is for school board, city council, or judge, to avoid voting for someone who will not reflect their values.

Of course, in a county of more than 580,000 Republicans, a simple endorsement is not enough. Republican voters must be informed of just who the Party supports for local offices. That information is passed to voters in a variety of ways. Candidates can feature the information in campaign literature and the press can report the endorsement. Our list was posted on the Party's well-visited website. But, far and away, the most effective means of telling voters which candidates the Party supported was through the new Republican Neighborhood Precinct Organization, described below.

Strategy Three: Increase Republican voter turnout.

In September 2000, *American Political Science Review* published a study by Yale University's Alan Gerber and Donald Green comparing the impact on voter turnout of get-out-the-vote phones, mail, and in-person visits. They found that live telephone calls have absolutely *no* impact on turnout. This may disappoint Republican volunteers like me who've spent hours working at campaign phone banks, but it stands to reason. How do *you* respond to a stranger calling you at home asking you to do something?

Direct mail appeals specifically aimed at increasing turnout were only slightly more effective than the totally ineffective telephone calls. A 0.8 percent increase in turnout for a single piece of GOTV mail. This result also should not be surprising: what do *you* do with most unsolicited advertising mail you receive? Why should voters in general behave any differently?

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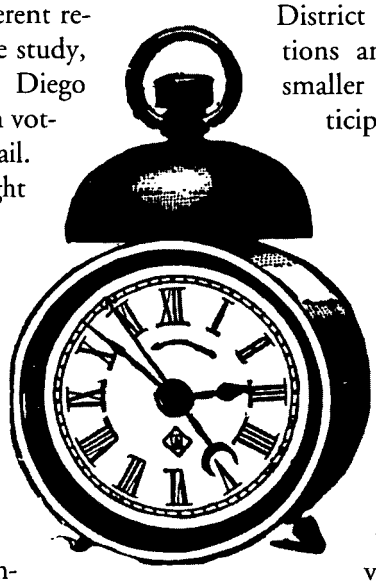
The most dramatic result came from in-person voter contact. A voter visited by a volunteer, in-person, during the final four weeks of the campaign was 10 percent more likely to vote than someone not visited in person, all other factors being equal.

Albert Einstein once defined insanity as "doing the same thing over and over again and expecting a different result." Considering the Yale study, we knew the Republican Party of San Diego County could not have a major impact on voter turnout relying on phone calls and mail. We had to change the way we thought about voter turnout.



We established the Republican Neighborhood Precinct Organization. A full description of that organization could fill a book. The final report generated by Chip Englander, our 2002 director of Precinct Operations, runs to more than 100 pages.

The program's thrust is this: organize Republican volunteers to visit Republican voters personally, in their neighborhood, during the final weeks of the campaign, drop off a list of Republican candidates, and remind them the election is close and to vote on election day.

The entire program is organized around this basic approach.

First, in-person contact with the voter is everything. We live in an information-drenched society. Junk mail, e-mail, 300 cable TV channels, radio, telemarketing calls ... we are swamped with impersonal forms of communication. Yet, a human being standing on a voter's doorstep cuts through that fog and makes an impact as nothing else can.

Second, Precinct Representatives visit only their own Republican neighbors. This appeals to volunteers because they walk in their own neighborhood, not somewhere across the county, and they're visiting Republicans, so in 90 percent of cases the person they visit already agrees with them on the message. The goal is to increase turnout through that in-person reminder.

Third, the piece of campaign literature left behind is critical. In San Diego County, our volunteers distributed more than 250,000 doorhangers, each listing the array of candidates endorsed by the Party and providing a tear-away reply card Republicans could send in if they wanted to participate. Listing all the candidates on the doorhanger provides each candidate an incentive to funnel his own volunteers into the precinct program, maximizing the number of Republican households visited.

Finally, full-time management is required to develop and implement the program. In San Diego County, the precinct program entailed 1,460 Precinct Representatives, 50 area leaders, eight Assembly District leaders, a director of Precinct Operations and two support staffers. Of course, smaller counties would require fewer participants, but having the right people in the right supervisory positions to keep everything moving is critical to so massive an undertaking.

In the 78th Assembly District, where Republican Shirley Horton overcame a Democrat advantage in both voter registration and money, the precinct program produced nearly 100 percent coverage on Election Day, with the campaign providing paid walkers to go into those precincts where no Republican volunteer could be identified, recruited, trained, and deployed in time. Horton won by less than 2 points.

Strategy Four: Engage Republican volunteers throughout the election cycle.

San Diegans are concurrently blessed and cursed. On any given day, our volunteers could be out doing just about anything: Little League, golf, shopping, beach-going, hiking, off-roading, or trying to figure out how to pay their taxes. The same is true throughout California — there's no shortage of things to do besides politics. The challenge for political leaders, then, is how to keep volunteers involved, and continually add to the list of those calling themselves volunteers?

I presided over only one Central Committee meeting at its traditional location: the San Diego County Administration Building. For years, the Party met there for one reason: it was free. As with anything else, the Party got what it paid for. The supervisors' public meeting room in that building is a dark, dank, medieval torture chamber kind of room with a dais on one end and about 50 painfully small audience-style seats on the other. Meetings were long, plodding, and featured many seemingly endless reports. People brought books and other reading materials to keep busy. About 60 people attended the meetings once a month.

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We turned that format on its head, redesigning the meeting around a monthly speaker and limiting the business to that which demands full Central Committee attention. Reports are put in writing, circulated by e-mail, and discussed in Executive Committee meetings held at Republican headquarters on a different night and open to all Central Committee members.

At full Central Committee meetings, a social hour precedes the business portion of the meeting, and a private reception for the Party's 700-plus donors who contribute more than $100 per year is held with the featured speaker prior to the meeting.

The meeting no longer simply serves as a meeting. Rather, it is an event, one that combines business, a social gathering, education, inspiration, and a bit of fundraising. At the November 2002 meeting of the committee — *after* the election — 252 volunteers attended. Almost every meeting held in this new format has drawn at least 200 people, more than tripling the attendance of previous meetings.

Of course, not everyone can attend a meeting once a month, so a biweekly newsletter, the *Republican Political Report,* keeps San Diego Republicans informed of events, news, and developments of interest to Republicans.

I presided over only one Central Committee meeting at its traditional location: a dark, dank, medieval torture chamber kind of room.

Republican volunteers are treated as some of the most important people in the Republican Party, because they are. No amount of money can replace the dedication and hard work provided by those who selflessly give their time to this great Republican cause.

To do it, Republican volunteers need resources. So the people who give of their time, must be aided by those who give of their money.

Strategy Five: Raise the funds necessary to implement Strategies One through Four.

In volunteer politics, leaders need four things to raise funds of any amount, from the person who sends in the $10 check once a year, to the business leader who routinely writes checks of $10,000.

1) *Credible leadership.* Political donors act like investors insofar as they share a common interest in knowing their contributions will be well spent in pursuit of a commonly agreed-upon goal. The Party's leadership provides that personal credibility, and backs up the commitment, that, yes, we will fund important programs with your generous donation, and, no, we're not going to spend it all on lottery tickets.

2) *Vision and a plan.* Donors want to know that their vision for California is shared by the Party, and that the Party has a realistic, measurable, effective plan to realize that vision. Donors cannot be expected to advance interests they do not share any more than volunteers can be expected to contribute their time to advance interests not their own. The plan must also have a level of credibility so that it can stand on its own merits, rather than simply relying upon those who endorse it.

3) *Progress in executing the plan.* The best evidence of a plan's success in the political marketplace is that it is already underway and producing the anticipated results. Donors can then be asked to invest in a product and a leadership that is demonstrably working. Don't ask a donor to invest in a theoretical idea, ask the donor to contribute to the ongoing success of a working product.

4) *An ability to show donors they are not the first to write a check.* Donors are rightly suspicious when no one else has yet made a financial contribution of a similar level they are being asked to give. What do others know that I don't? Citing other donors who have already made the decision to fund the Party's programs can make all the difference between walking away with a check, or walking away with "I'll think about it."

Provide for various levels of giving

Just as volunteers are capable of contributing differing amounts of time, donors are able to give varying amounts of support. As a result, a successful party finance program creates programs aimed at donors and potential donors at various levels.

• *Direct mail:* The most effective means of reaching donors who will contribute $100 or less in response to a solicitation is through an ongoing direct mail fundraising program. These programs produce the best re-

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sults when they are carried out systematically throughout the year. The Republican Party of San Diego County raised more than $100,000 in direct mail contributions between September 2001 and October 2002. The Washington, D.C.,-based Leadership Institute provides classes in beginner, intermediate, and advanced level direct mail fundraising.

• *Events:* Donors capable of giving between $50 and $250 can be reached through fundraising events where the revenues are derived from individual ticket sales, table sponsors, and larger sponsors. Caution should be exercised to avoid relying too heavily on events, since overhead expenses tend to run 30 percent or higher, in contrast with more profitable direct mail and personal solicitation programs. The Republican Party of San Diego County holds three events each year: a Lincoln Day Dinner in February, a Salute to San Diego's Republican Elected Officials in July, and a low-dollar Holiday Party in December.

• *Donors programs with fulfillment events:* One example of a donor club is the San Diego County GOP's "Century Club." Members contribute $100 each year, and in return they are invited to complimentary, no-host receptions before each monthly Central Committee meeting with that month's speaker.

The programs provided an unanticipated result: a way out of the ideological box that often defines and perpetuates intra-party warfare.

More than 500 local Republicans have joined the program, raising more than $50,000 each year. Costs for the fulfillment events are kept low, allowing 90 percent-plus of all dues paid to go toward supporting Party programs and operations. Reagan Club members contribute $250 each year, and Chairman's Circle members contribute $1,000, with donors in higher level programs receiving more fulfillment events and benefits of membership.

• *Personal solicitation:* While it's not practical to make personal solicitations for contributions of only $10 or $100 at a time, making a personal visit to donors who are capable of contributing $1,000 or more can be an important part of any finance operation. We use a PowerPoint presentation that walks donors through our leadership, vision, plan, and progress to persuade them to support our efforts. These personal solicitation visits can be done one-on-one, or to a small group, either by a Finance Committee member or the chairman.

• *Proposition 34:* While candidates for many local offices may raise funds only in small increments (San Diego City Council campaign donations are limited to $250, and may be made only by individuals), political parties may raise and spend unlimited funds for "member communications" — defined as communication aimed specifically at the party's registered voters. To take advantage of this aspect of Proposition 34, the Republican Party of San Diego County coordinated with Republican candidates in communicating with Republican voters, as well as in doing the fundraising necessary to support these programs. Unlike an independent expenditure committee (IEC), party member communications can be fully coordinated with the candidate's campaign under the FPPC regulations currently in effect. A portion of funds raised for member communications are used to help offset the party's indirect costs such as staffing, headquarters, and volunteer support. The success of programs like these in San Diego enabled our Party to erase more than $20,000 in debts and raise more than $800,000 to support operations and programs in 2001 and 2002.

Final Word: A Unified Coalition

The programs I've outlined, when applied to the Republican Party of San Diego County, generated an unprecedented level of support for Republican candidates, and an incredible sense of progress and accomplishment among donors, volunteers, candidates, and elected officials. They also provided another, unanticipated, result: a way out of the ideological box that too often defines and perpetuates intra-party warfare. These programs work as well for Democrats as for Republicans. They are the basic blocking-and-tackling, core campaign programs that must be at the center of any modern, successful political party.

Implementing this plan, we discovered there is no "moderate" way to raise money, no "conservative" way to run a precinct program, and no "liberal" way to register voters. By keeping our eye on the ball, and our focus on performing these core functions, we were able to transcend the ideological divisions that had paralyzed our Party for years. We could come together in ways that helped to put Republican candidates into office, and ideas into action.

That's how we've come to define ... victory. CPR

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Republican Ideals Alive and Well

William E. Simon, Jr.

WHY DO we see many of our state's pundits and newspapers writing off the Republican Party in California just when the failures of Democrat leadership are reaching crisis proportions? The state budget meltdown has become a national scandal, and California is now a metaphor throughout America for Democrat inability to lead.

Democrats propose to cure the effect of the excessive and wasteful government spending of the last four years with excessive and wasteful government spending. They have little to say about the energy crisis Governor Davis allowed to engulf us, little to say about the water shortage our state faces, little to say about the deterioration of our roads and freeway system, and little to say about our education system that fails to teach many of our kids. But given all this, we are told that *Republican* ideals have been discredited.

Following the last election, it might be tempting to dismiss those ideals as a lost cause in California. But I would argue that they are more relevant than ever.

Since November 5, I've been asked many times about my campaign and whether I wished I had never left my life in business and community service to become a rookie in elective politics. My answer is always an emphatic

2002 Republican nominee for California governor, William E. Simon, Jr., serves as co-chairman of William E. Simon & Sons, a private investment firm and merchant bank, of the William E. Simon Foundation, and of the Cynthia L. and William E. Simon, Jr., Foundation.

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no. It was, without a doubt, one the greatest experiences — and privileges — of my life.

Before entering the race, I was repeatedly warned about how brutal and destructive the elective process can be. My marriage would be strained, my children would come home from school crying, my life would never be the same. Like many people, however, I thought it best not to leave politics to the politicians — that it was time to enter the arena.

Elections are not easy, but why should they be? We live in a free society where people hold widely differing points of view. And for all its faults, we have a good system. I hope that my effort to serve my fellow citizens as governor will inspire more Californians who have distinguished themselves outside of politics to enter the public arena as well.

I'M GLAD to report that during the two years I spent on the campaign, my children did *not* come home from school crying and my marriage only grew stronger. When my family and I look back on the experience, one powerful feeling overshadows all others: gratitude for the opportunities the campaign gave us — gratitude for the opportunity to meet and get to know thousands of Californians, to listen to their thoughts, learn of their hopes, and talk to them about solving the problems we face together. And despite our loss, I am proud of our efforts. We surprised the experts by coming so close. We demonstrated that the Republican Party does have a future in California. It is interesting, by the way, that many of the pundits who, before the election, consistently said I had no chance of winning instantly changed their tune when the votes were counted, calling my loss "inexcusable."

Since November, I've had plenty of time to think about why we did better than the experts said we could, and why, finally, we came up short. We made mistakes, and, as the candidate, the responsibility for them rests with me and me alone. I have learned from those mistakes, but not dwelt on them. Any time I think about something we could have done differently, I am reminded of all the things we did right: We had a tremendous grassroots organization that covered the entire state. We had a dedicated staff that worked tirelessly every day. My only true regret was not being able to carry home the victory for all of the wonderful people who worked their hearts out for our cause.

But much of the team that brought us so far and so close is still in place, concerned and motivated as California continues to sink deeper into the quicksand of wrongheaded policy. Many of them are continuing the fight for the principles and ideals we share as Republicans. And I will make a prediction: sooner than almost anyone believes, our ideas and philosophy will prevail. In fact, it is already happening.

In Sacramento, Republican legislators lead a growing movement to limit future budget growth and set aside funds for difficult times. Even Democrats are beginning to advocate more local control, a traditional Republican theme we stressed throughout the campaign. I predict that much more of the strong medicine we prescribed for rescuing our economy, schools, and infrastructure will eventually be adopted by our state's leaders.

Do I regret spending the $10 million I put into the campaign? Not at all. I see it as an investment in the greatest political system in the world. It will continue to be a great system as long as our citizens control it. It belongs to our people: the community workers, the educators, the entrepreneurs, the rookies, and the everyday citizens trying to find a way to make a difference the best they can. If my experience encourages more citizen politicians to enter the arena, that $10 million will be the best money I ever spent.

I will always be grateful for this tremendous experience. If I had it all to do again, I would. And I just might. CPR

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WILLIAM E. SARACINO

WILL THE *REAL* PARTY OF BIG BUSINESS PLEASE STAND UP?

One of the truest of truisms is the axiom that, in politics, perception is more important than reality. For more than 70 years, since Franklin Roosevelt firmly planted the seed in the American political psyche, Republicans have been perceived as the "Party of big business" and Democrats the "Party of the little guy." The reality that for most of the last 70 years the GOP has been the last refuge of such "little guys" as middle class families, blue collar taxpayers, small businessmen, unskilled workers deprived of jobs by government regulation (minimum wage laws, for instance), and of dreaming entrepreneurs — this reality has made hardly a dent in the prevailing perception.

As for being the "Party of big business," in California, the Republican Party is hardly that. It's time perceptions began to match reality: big business in the Golden State has become a wholly-owned Democrat Party subsidiary, as even a quick review of its donation patterns in the 2002 elections starkly hammers home. Thirty businesses that hold seats on the boards of directors of either the state Chamber of Commerce or the California Business Roundtable — the state's two largest business associations — made contributions in the governor's race.

William E. Saracino is a member of CPR's *editorial board.*

Ninety-four — that's *nine-four* — percent of their money went to Gray Davis.

That is not a misprint. Businessman Bill Simon, Jr., received only six percent of the political capital expended by this group of big businesses. Bear in mind, this election pitted a career political hack, a lifelong tax-and-spend-and-regulate Democrat against an honest-to-goodness successful Republican businessman. The choice between Davis and Simon could not have been more clear-cut regarding which candidate would foster a more "business friendly" climate in the state. And equally clear cut, though by no means easy to understand, is the record of big business's contributions in this election directly against the broad interests not only of big business, but also of every other size and kind of business.

I will be taking a detailed look at big business's contributions in other state races — for constitutional and legislative offices — to be reported in a later article, but, frankly, I will be surprised if that research appreciably alters these donation percentages between the political parties. California Democrats' huge spending advantage at all levels in recent elections will, I expect, be difficult to account

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If the Business Roundtable and the state Chamber do not speak for small- and medium-sized business in California, who does?

for if, in fact, big business has been ladling significant sums of money toward the Republican side in statewide or legislative elections.

In any event, the giving pattern of these 30 board members of the state's two leading business associations, representing the crème de la crème of California business or, at least, of its big business, is like a neutron bomb blasting to bits the gross misperception of the California GOP as the Party of big business.

All this, of course, will strike much of the public as counter-intuitive: we all just "know," don't we, that the GOP is the captive of the captains of industry? In discussing this issue, I find that even reasonably well-informed Republicans are shocked by the 94 percent figure noted above.

There is another story here, behind the truth about big business and the Democrats. It is this: that thousands of small and medium-sized California businesses and those they employ (or would employ, if they could afford to do so) appear to be forgotten when it comes to big business campaign contributions. Perhaps that is to be expected — it may be that big business sees its own interests as so divergent from those of smaller enterprises that no one should be surprised to find "business" campaign dollars trending starkly, almost exclusively, pro-Democrat. Who is really hurt by the pro-union, anti-market, heavy regulation and tax regime that Democrats strive always to impose? Such behemoths as AT&T? Or does the cost fall mainly on companies whose employees number in the hundreds or tens?

Gray Davis's re-election brought word that Buck Knives, a world-renowned knife-making company employing 250 people, will leave California for Idaho after 34 years headquartered in San Diego County. The owners specifically cited the election results as their reason for leaving, noting that they expected an even more anti-business economic environment to result. If any of the 30 giants who sent their 94 percent to Davis are pulling up stakes, I haven't heard the news. Legislative Republicans recently reported that, due to a stiffening regulatory environment — including such Democrat-imposed items as repeal of 40-hour workweek flexibility and higher unemployment benefit requirements — "California manufacturing employment has fallen by over 230,000 jobs (12 percent) since its peak in late 2000, one of the steepest two-year declines in the state's history."

One would think this sort of thing would eventually get around to biting even members of the Business Roundtable, but perhaps they merely tell themselves, remembering Lord Keynes, that in the long run, we're all dead. It is in the short run that job-killing laws make profit and, thus, survival impossible for the Buck Knives companies of the state. So perhaps the best question to ask is: if the Business Roundtable and the state Chamber do not speak for them, who does?

In the lobbying community, small and medium business is represented by all sorts of specially-designated associations, and many of these lobbying operations effectively defend the interests of their business constituents within the Capitol. But even here, a strange phenomenon can been seen. Democrats, for almost 20 years, have worked to place "their" people in lobbying positions for statewide associations while Republicans have done far less in this vein. When I was chief of staff for the Assembly Republican Caucus (1984 to 1987), then-Assembly Speaker Willie Brown embarked on a concerted effort to monitor job openings among lobbyists, looking especially for positions that commanded influence over contributions. Finding such an opening, the Speaker would do all in his power, which was a lot, to place Democrat staffers in those positions. His success may be gauged by considering that the current president of the California

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Business Roundtable is a former Willie Brown chief of staff (who had also served earlier as staff chief for Democrat Assembly Speaker Bob Moretti). Is it really so surprising that Democrats now reap the harvest and Republicans the whirlwind?

Of course, beyond such intrigues, many in business simply follow power, or what they think is power, trying to buy favors, or at least buy relief, and Democrats, controlling both houses and the executive, are certainly the power at the moment. But this is often foolish strategy, even in the short run, as California agriculture learned last year in the episode involving the "binding arbitration" bill. (For a full discussion of this legislation, see M. David Stirling's regular column, page 9 of this issue of *CPR*, "State imposed farm labor contracts.") Here, in a nutshell, is what happened: legislative Democrats, at the United Farm Workers behest, passed a bill mandating binding arbitration whenever growers and the union reached an "impasse" in contract negotiations. The "ag community" strenuously opposed this measure, rightly seeing it as an open invitation for the UFW to stalemate all negotiations and move immediately to state-mandated arbitration, carried out by state appointed arbiters. Once the bill passed, Governor Davis let it be known he was "undecided" on the measure. Knowing what "undecided" means to this governor, agriculture opened their checkbooks, eventually contributing more than $1.5 million to Davis. The result? A nanosecond after the last ag check cleared the bank, Davis signed the UFW bill. This is called "feeding the alligator." It is true, the alligator usually does not get around to eating you quite so quickly as this, but he invariably *does* get around to it.

So we begin with a seeming paradox: the supposed "party of big business" receives almost no money from big business while its opposition receives almost everything big business gives. Republicans traditionally represent free markets, which is good for the overall business climate, but not always favored by particular large enterprises. Some may be enjoying some form of corporate welfare: favored treatment on state contracts, monopoly or partial monopoly status provided through state regulation, favorable tax treatment specifically aimed at their industry. Others are simply big enough to absorb the regulations and taxes that cripple smaller operations. Another reason is that big business's large bureaucracies are too immobile to allow them to do more to defend themselves against rapacious government than trying to buy off their tormentors as much as possible.

Lots more explanations could be listed. But the substance of it all is that, in California, business campaign dollars are not supporting the true interests of business and of the employees who depend upon it for their livelihoods, especially in the case of small- and medium-sized business, and especially over the long run. For small business, even the short run is becoming intolerable. Two outcomes seem likely to result as the pressure of this paradoxical situation continues to build: one, more business will follow Buck Knives out of the state; two, businesses run by people quicker to see and to react to the danger of being without effective representation in Sacramento — again, these presumably will be small and medium business — will try to change existing institutions (the Chamber, etc.) to represent them better, but will also create new organizations to do so as well.

In the 1980s, a group called the Free Market Political Action Committee was created by Senator H.L. Richardson, ret., and run by a young powerhouse named Jim Grubbs into a 700-member ($500 per year, per member) organization for electing pro-market legislators to office. For a variety of reasons, FreePAC, as it was called, eventually died away. Its time, however, may have come again. CPR

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Fiscal Sanity in State budgeting?

Even Gray Davis seems to see that *something* is wrong. Perhaps some good can come from the budget mess after all.

John Campbell

As California's state budget careens out of control taking thousands of jobs with it, we've all heard talk about the need for "structural reform" of state budgeting. In his state of the state address, Governor Gray Davis said he "will not sign a budget without substantial structural reform." This is a good thing — about the *only* good thing that can come from a man-made disaster like this $26 billion budget deficit is that all sides become interested in trying to avoid this sort of thing ever occurring again.

The chorus chanting about "structural reform" is talking about fundamentally changing how we craft a state budget. The process desperately and quite obviously needs to change, but let's first be clear about what structural reform should not be. It should not be another euphemism for higher taxes and more spending. Such often used phrases as "more investment" and "revenue enhancement" are code for raising taxes. No doubt, some will propose new and increased taxes under the guise of "structural reform." Don't buy it. State taxes on Californians now equal about 7.5 percent of total personal income. That is the highest rate since before the Proposition 13 taxpayer revolt nearly 25 years ago and well above the rates of neighboring states. Californians' overall tax burden arguably should be going down; unquestionably, it should *not* go up.

So what constitutes real, legitimate structural reform? Here are some elements to consider:

Spending Cap — I have introduced Assembly Constitutional Amendment 6 that would limit the growth in spending to the combined growth of population and inflation in the state. The proposal also creates a mandatory "rainy day fund" in good years so that the money can be used to sustain state programs during recessions. And any money in excess of the reserve would be returned equally to taxpayers and schools. This spending limit would both control and stabilize future state government spending.

Spending Reform — Besides a cap, structural reform of spending should address the system's current incentives that reward state bureaucracies for spending all of their budgets and penalize them for saving. These incentives should be reversed and, when coupled with "zero-based budgeting" (where every department every year must justify all spending, not just additional spending), should help government dollars go farther.

Restructuring Local Government Finance — Currently, local governments shake in their proverbial boots every time the state budget hiccups because so much of their funding comes from the state. Local governments should have more diversified and direct sources of revenue to free them to make their own planning decisions without rising or falling on every fiscal decision made in Sacramento.

Tax Simplification — California is one of only 18 states whose income tax code is completely separate from the federal internal revenue code. We could, literally, have a "postcard"-sized tax return in this state simply by basing our rate structure on federal taxable income. Furthermore, the state could save up to $200 million now spent to administer and enforce this separate code. I will introduce legislation next month to do this.

In addition to these reforms, we should also look at state sources of revenue, possibly restructuring them — without increasing the overall tax burden. We may also want to consider spending laws that periodically sunset and a different budget approval schedule to allow for more on-time budgets.

One "reform" idea you may have heard discussed would not be helpful: eliminating the two-thirds vote requirement to pass the budget. This would bring less stability with more "whip-sawed" budgets and less compromise.

So, the mess currently engulfing state budgeting has brought lots of options for real substantive structural reform to the table. Let's learn something from recent experience and not miss this opportunity to enact some of these reforms, bringing some good out of the man-made disaster that the state budget has become. CPR

The Legislature's only CPA, 70th District Assemblyman John Campbell is vice chairman of the Assembly Budget Committee.

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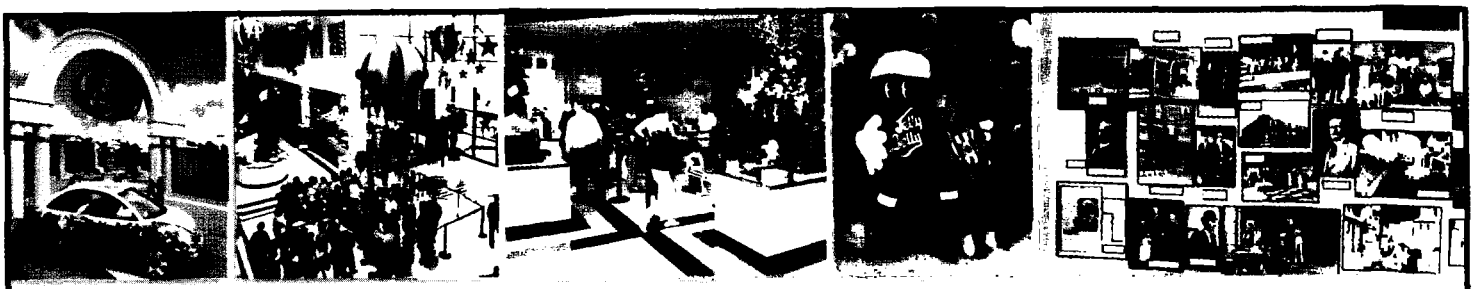

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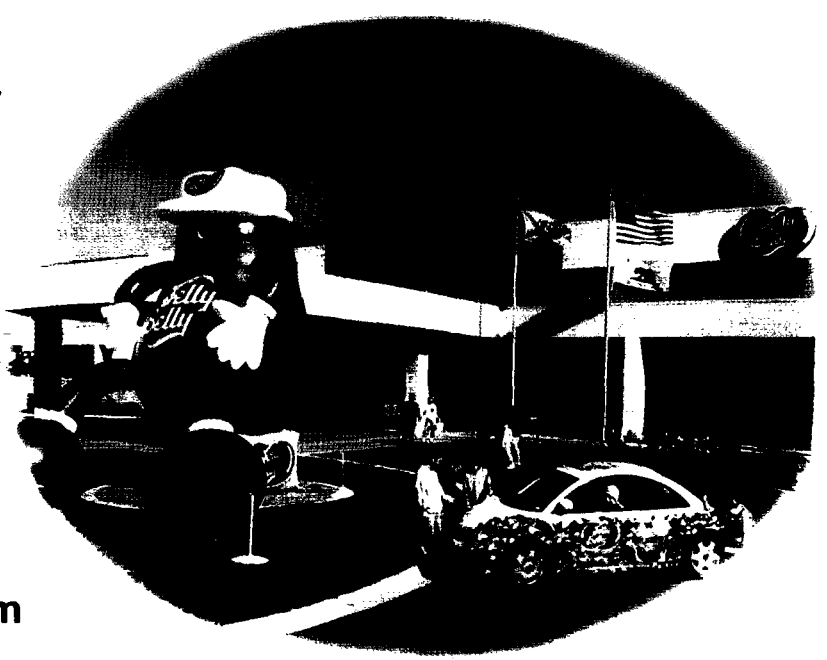

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Raising a Ruckus

John Quigley proves no stunt is too foolish to generate fawning press — as long as the message points left.

GEORGE NEUMAYR

RESIDE IN a tree, get gobs of positive media attention. This plan worked magnificently for John Quigley, an environmentalist prankster who commandeered an old oak tree near Santa Clarita from November to January. Quigley took the tree hostage as a form of protest against John Laing Homes. The company had been ordered to remove the tree by Los Angeles County as part of a road-widening project for a new housing development.

Major media outlets, always ready to cover a left-wing stunt, quickly dispatched reporters to Santa Clarita to cover the fate of "Old Glory," a phony name environmentalists cooked up to win sympathy for a tree few Southern Californians had ever visited before the protest began. Quigley's tree-sitting was an important statement about "suburban sprawl," declared the *New York Times.*

Quigley is a professional protester and seasoned tree-sitter (He previously resided in a Western Hemlock in Canada). California environmentalists needed a subcontractor and Quigley happened to be available. But would the average reader have known this from the media coverage? Most of the coverage suggested he was a determined idealist. Quigley told sympathetic reporters his protest was a purely local one. But Quigley, whom the media labeled an "environmental educator," hails from posh Pacific Palisades, California. Had he even seen the tree before his friends alerted him about its removal? Stories about him often mentioned his interest in John Muir and Henry David Thoreau. Why didn't they also mention his environmentalist performance art? In 1998, he helped produce "Awakening" at the 1998 United Nations Climate Change Conference in Buenos Aires. "Awakening" featured the vertical dance troupe Project Bandaloop rappelling down the National Law University Library building.

Reporters also didn't mention his work for the Berkeley-based Ruckus Society, a group that trains people to stir up trouble at large events. "We're taking protests to the very edge," Quigley is quoted saying on its Web page. "We want people to wonder,'Why are those people risking their lives to do this?'"

THE RUCKUS SOCIETY, according to a 1997 *U.S. News and World Report* story, hosts a training camp for tree huggers. Howard "Twilly" Cannon, one of the Ruckus Society's founders, described the group's mission: "You create symbols, then manipulate them so the public sees things the way we want them to." Quigley must have chuckled at the ease with which he manipulated the "Old Glory" symbol through the media. He spent much of his time in the tree making cell phone calls to reporters. And if reporters showed up at the tree, Quigley's entourage of hippie handlers would supply them with a walkie-talkie to speak to this simple man of nature.

Quigley's good contacts with celebrities — he's worked with them before at environmentalist events — also came in handy. Actress Rene Russo,

George Neumayr is California Political Review's *press critic.*

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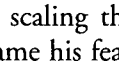
looking terribly thoughtful, visited "Old Glory" with her daughter, and later Ed Begley Jr. showed up. The media covered their visits dutifully. Indeed, Begley wowed the media by scaling the tree. The press reported that he "overcame his fear of heights" to make a statement. "I'm not a climber," he said. "I'm not good with heights, but it was very important, so I put that aside and just climbed on up."

REPORTERS SHOWED considerably less interest in the naked politics of the protest. Quigley and his leftist friends turned the area around the tree into a festival of left-wing politics. A flag of El Salvador — apparently the preservation of oak trees is suddenly a huge issue in the Salvadoran community — and peace signs dotted the site. Quigley's barechested aides handed out a form letter to visitors, suggesting that people write Los Angeles County Supervisor Michael Antonovich and say, "you're fighting Ghandi, man."

Before the controversy ended (John Laing Homes is planning to relocate the tree), Quigley had become the subject of *international* coverage. In December, after he busted an upper molar on an energy bar, a dentist climbed up into the tree for a consultation. "Instead of a house call this is a tree call," Dr. Ana Michel told *CNN*. News of Quigley's energy-bar mishap even reached England. "Santa Clarita Tree Sitter Breaks Molar," reported the United Kingdom's *Guardian.*

Does Los Angeles need a "blond" newspaper? Former Los Angeles Mayor Richard Riordan thinks so. The promotional ad for the *Los Angeles Examiner,* a weekly Riordan intends to launch in the summer, reads: "It's not an alternative paper. It's an alternative voice. Intelligent. Informative. Irreverent. Relevant. No smug assumptions. No blatant biases. Not transparently left or predictably right. Not pompous, earnest, or boring. But gossipy. Engaged. Blond."

This newspaper venture sounds more quixotic than his gubernatorial run. Yet perhaps any attempt to undermine the dominance of the *Los Angeles Times* is welcome. Riordan, however, seems an unlikely figure to offer an "alternative voice" to the *Times.* On what major issues does he disagree with their editorial page? Having run a "transparently left" campaign in the mould of *Los Angeles Times* liberalism, Riordan may produce a paper that ends up more like an echo of the mainstream media than a serious alternative to it.



Is liberal media bias a problem? No, says *Los Angeles Times* media critic David Shaw. "We don't, consciously or subconsciously, slant our stories to fit our ideology," he writes in a January 19 column. The *Times* does not have a single conservative columnist. It doesn't even have a liberal Republican one, *a la* Bill Safire at the *New York Times* or Debra Saunders at the *San Francisco Chronicle.* Yet it is steadfastly impartial, you understand.

In December, the *Times* managed to find a writer to argue that bias *does* plague the media — *conservative* bias. "The Media Bias Myth," read a near-banner headline in the *Times'* December 22 Opinion Section. Neal Gabler, a senior fellow at the Norman Lear Center at the USC Annenberg School for Communication, argued that liberal media bias is a myth, then audaciously unfurled one of his own: that the media are "downright conservative," and that the conglomerates that "own most of the news media are promoting their own interests, and those interests tend to be conservative."

Times' critic Shaw does not, like Gabler, go so far as to assert a conservative media bias. A very generous concession on his part. And he does allow that "most reporters, like most other sentient beings, do have an ideology of sorts — that is, we have personal opinions, often strong and, in our case, generally liberal. Only the uninformed or the inert have no opinions, and on issue after issue — race relations, gun control, the environment, government spending, gay rights, capital punishment — I think most journalists are more liberal than are most other Americans." But Shaw "honestly believes" that journalists don't permit this liberalism to influence their coverage.

What they can't resist, he says, is "fluff," "sensationalism," and acrimony. This is the "pernicious" bias that worries him. "We're biased in favor of change, as opposed to the *status quo.* We're biased in favor of bad news, rather than good news. We're biased in favor of conflict rather than harmony," he writes. So, as Shaw sees it, reporters who can discipline their own ideological bias somehow can't discipline more superficial ones. Shaw's denial of liberal media bias might be a little more convincing if it appeared somewhere other than in a newspaper crammed full of it. CPR

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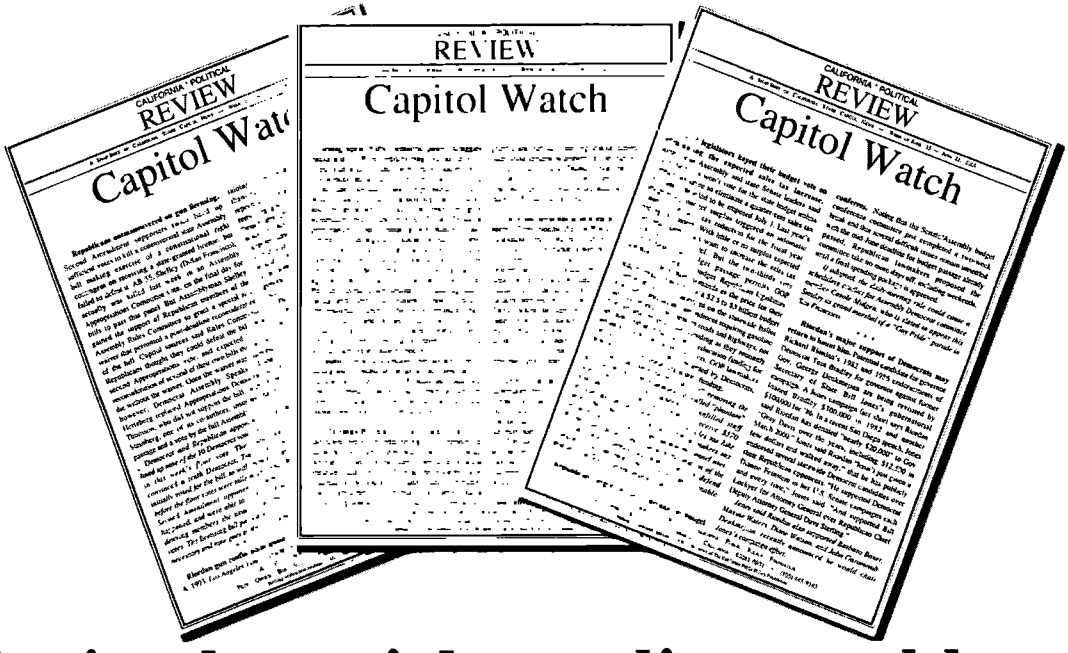

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Shubin

(Continued from page 5)

service agencies. He headed up WellPoint's corporate 2001 annual United Way campaign, setting a company record by raising more than half a million dollars for local charities. The Weinbergs are also generous personal donors. For more than a decade, they've been among United Way's leading contributors in Ventura, often appearing on UW's elite "Alexis de Tocqueville Society" list of $10,000-plus donors. Denny also donated generously of his time to United Way in various capacities.

Last year, as usual, the Weinbergs actively promoted the United Way campaign. They had heard of political maneuvering in other United Way chapters, and so asked local UW staff executives if anything of the kind was afoot here. They were assured no such thing would take place in Ventura County.

They were wrong. United Way's board changed its policy regarding the Scouts, if not in secret, at least discretely. Donors were not notified, and the news leaked out only after the year's fundraising drive was complete. The Weinbergs asked the UW board and staff how this radical step could have been taken in the middle of a fund-raising campaign, involving a formal, board-level resolution, with no one informing the public or even UW donors. First they were told the 40-member board adopted the policy unanimously, a claim repeated by the UW board chairman in published newspaper interviews. Then it turned out that less than half the board was present for the vote, and that those present did not vote unanimously.

Readers might be surprised to learn that, to date, only about 50 of America's 1,400 United Way chapters — less than 5 percent — have joined the attack on the Scouts.

This tawdry episode reproduced, in its phoniness, the "national" United Way assault on the Scouts. Readers might be surprised to learn that, to date, only about 50 of America's 1,400 United Way chapters — less than 5 percent — have joined the attack on the Scouts. Of course the steely-eyed leftists leading this politicization of charity see themselves as visionary vanguards, full of scorn for stodgy, ordinary Americans who think the purpose of giving is actually to help people. "We don't base our policy on what the United Way Chapter in Lexington, Kentucky, or Fargo, North Dakota, happens to be," Ventura County UW board member Dave M. Smith said on a CBS News "Eye on America" segment covering Ventura's Boy Scout/United Way issue. Translation: Ventura's United Way has placed itself among the small number of chapters increasingly dominated by people driven by ideology and an appetite for using other people's money to impose their will on other people's charitable endeavors. What befalls the community depending on the charitable agencies these radicals pollute is now, evidently, a small concern.

This, by the way, is not merely an anti-Scout campaign. The Salvation Army and the YMCA, as well as other agencies, do not fit the new standard, although the Scouts were singled out at the start to be given an immediate ultimatum:

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change or lose funding. It's not yet clear whether UW seriously intends to apply the policy to others. But reading the hardly-obscure tea leaves, the local YMCA recently decided not to apply for further United Way funding. It begins to look as though the operation in danger of marginalization is the United Way.

In contrast to the radicals' secrecy, narrowness, and ultimate irrelevance, the Scout Friends' campaign took off quickly, taking out full-page ads in the *Ventura County Star* and the *Los Angeles Times* and ad inserts in *The Daily News.* Along with Spanish and English-language radio ads and local and national media coverage, a stream of overwhelmingly sympathetic supporters, some from as far as away Falls Church, Virginia, and Honolulu, Hawaii, sent money to support the Scouts. Some three-quarters of the checks included a note of support, thanking the Friends for taking a stand.

Prominent, public supporters stepped forward, representing a significant portion of city, county, state, and national elected officials, including the current and former Ventura County sheriffs, Assemblyman Tony Strickland, state Senator Tom McClintock, and Congressman Elton Gallegly. Supporters include celebrities such as Ansen Williams and Pat Boone and national CEOs such as Salem Communications' Ed Atsinger and American Golf's David Price. The published list of supporters exceeds 100 community leaders.

Oddly enough, as the Friends "Tribute to the Scouts" campaign gained momentum, it met a markedly cool reception from a strong minority within the Ventura County Boy Scout board itself. It came out that some of these Boy Scout board members had actually helped draft the very United Way policy that sought to punish the Scouts. Subsequently, one of these individuals failed to win re-election as leader of the Ventura County Scout board, which is now headed by County Sheriff Bob Brooks.

The Scouts' Ventura story illustrates how the culture war is sometimes fought out in board rooms, with ideologically-driven members pushing local chapters of national charities against their national charters and organizational mission. If ordinary Americans do not oppose these focused efforts, they may wake up to find their most valuable institutions either starved out of existence or so transformed by politics they no longer serve any useful purpose. In Ventura County, the choice was clear: allow a few radicals at United Way to defame the Scouts falsely as "discriminatory" or defend an institution that has played a huge roll in the character development of millions of America's young men since 1910. By taking a stand, the Scouts actually improved their fund raising while successfully defending their right to direct their course themselves. And the community has been energized and strengthened by the effort.

And there is a broader lesson: traditional institutions like the Boy Scouts can continue to flourish in today's culture, but not if good men and women sit back and do nothing. CPR

Reading the hardly-obscure tea leaves, the local YMCA recently decided not to apply for further United Way funding. It begins to look as though the operation in danger of marginalization is the United Way.

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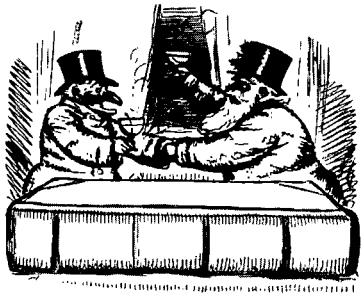

CRITICUS

Have We Got Mail?

BY G.B. TENNYSON

IN CONTRAST to the late Madame Criticus, who disliked mail of all kinds, Criticus quite likes, even welcomes and honors, mail. To accommodate this passion and to make life easier for Mme. C., Criticus installed an oversized lockable mailbox about three feet tall by one foot wide by two feet deep, standing on a post secured in concrete. It can hold up to two weeks of mail, exclusive of large packages, and it served to relieve Mme. C. from even touching the mail when Criticus was out of town for some time and still today enables Criticus to be gone for short spells without imposing on anyone, including the post office, to hold his mail for him. So every day when at home I have the pleasure of going out to the great container and gathering in the treasures that the post-woman (officially, of course, simply the "mail carrier") has deposited for me.

I suspect this delight in receiving mail is akin to the pleasure of receiving and unwrapping gifts but without all the fuss of a party or the guilty feeling that others have gone out of their way. It is also one of those things that combines what we love in life, namely, continuity and change, rather like the seasons, always different, always the same. It is a manifestation of Burke's "unbought grace of life." Such feelings are also nowadays a form of self-delusion, for like so much else, the mail isn't what it used to be. Indeed, in many respects the mail isn't even the mail anymore. All that remains of the mail of yore are magazines and bills. Everything else is — dread word — Junk Mail. Could avoidance of association with the word *mail* have been the reason that a year or two ago, back in the Mother Country, they suddenly changed the name of the Royal Mail to Consignia, admitting that the word was made up and had no actual meaning? It failed to endear itself to the people, so after a time they changed it back again to Royal Mail. Liberal bureaucracy at work.

Whatever the name of the service, the mail remains the same, although I think ex-Consignia does carry a higher proportion of real letters than the U.S. Postal Service. The realization that something like 95 percent of the material deposited in my postbox is not really personally meant for me but simply for that faceless name who pays bills and reads magazines is a bit disheartening. What is missing is the very thing for which the postal system was invented, namely, let-

G.B. Tennyson is CPR's official reader of useless and annoying mail that others are wise enough to ignore. He is also, despite his protestations, a frequent user of E-mail.

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ters, correspondence, written exchanges between human beings. *Où sont les lettres d'antan?*

Before the postal system and as far back as the Persian Empire, there were couriers who carried government papers and correspondence from place to place, and such arrangements existed also in the days of the Roman Empire and into the Middle Ages. But the modern postal system begins with the British, who established routes based on those of royal couriers, as early as 1657, revised the system in 1839 when the penny post (the first use of stamps) was established and, thus, ushered in the modern postal service. In recognition of the pioneering nature of the "penny black" stamp, as the first one was known, Britain is the only country in the world permitted to this day to issue stamps without a country's name on them. One sees only a profile of the monarch and the denomination. Tradition triumphs.

In recognition of the 'penny black' stamp, as the first one was known, Britain is the only country to issue stamps without a country's name on them.

In the American colonies a system of post offices was established by the British Parliament in 1711, and postage stamps came into use in 1847. A reliable postal system quickly became an indispensable aspect of life, and it very much encouraged the writing of letters. It is no surprise that the Victorian age became the great age of personal correspondence, that it gave birth to those substantial "life and letters" biographies of famous people and that it continues to this day to supply scholars with massive editing projects of the complete letters of various notabilities. The correspondence of Thomas and Jane Carlyle, for example, when complete, will run to at least forty volumes. Considering that Carlyle's non-epistolary writings themselves occupy forty volumes, the whole output will amount to eighty volumes not counting some uncollected material. One does wonder how they found the time for so much scribbling.

Remember, too, that all of this writing was by hand and much no doubt also by gaslight or candlelight, for neither the typewriter (late 1870s) nor electric lighting (mid-1880s) was common in nineteenth-century life. Equally astounding is the fact that the postal delivery system featured up to four or even six deliveries *a day.* An English gentlewoman *d'un certain âge* once told me that as a child in Liverpool after the First War, she would find that her father had dropped a note in the post around ten in the morning to tell his wife whether he would be home for lunch at noon, confident that she would receive his note well before lunch time. It is still a delight for Criticus to see in efficient Switzerland the ubiquitous yellow post boxes with a little window at the top, which the collector clicks to the next scheduled pick-up each time he empties the box, which of course he does many times a day. Is it any wonder that the Vatican sends all of its non-Italian mail by direct train out of Città del Vaticano to (mainly Protestant) Switzerland for dispersal to the rest of the world? Astute Romans go over to Vatican City to post mail meant for the world at large. Criticus has some Roman friends who actually do write letters and thereby provide him with desirable Vatican stamps which he generously passes on to a collector or two of his acquaintance.

Even so, in the wider world, however ill or well served by various postal systems, people no longer write letters as they once did. The older explanation was that the telephone changed all that. True up to a point. For a long time, long distance telephoning was costly and cumbersome enough so that personal letter writing for non-local recipients was still common. Locally, however, the telephone reduced the need for postal service throughout the day, and deliveries shrank to two, and then one a day. More recently there has been talk in the United States of dropping Saturday delivery, and already there is no Sunday pickup from postboxes and precious few postboxes to deposit mail into. In many places household mailboxes are placed close to the curb, and in rural areas they are often clustered together in large installations, all designed to ease delivery by a motorized but essentially non-ambulatory postal carrier. The postman not only no longer rings twice, he doesn't ring at all. In any case, Lana Turner is unlikely to be waiting for his touch, for she is now a working spouse and carrying on her affairs elsewhere.

But these delivery changes are more or less bearable.

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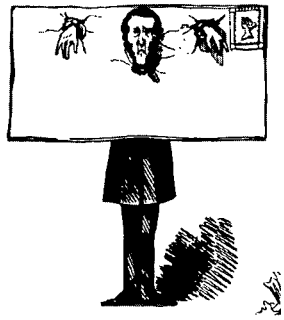
It's the problem of what arrives — or rather what doesn't — that troubles Criticus and leads to lugubrious thoughts about the future of literacy, culture, civilization, and the destiny of the universe. What doesn't arrive, or only rarely, is the old-fashioned letter. Of that, more later. What does arrive, as already stated, is what I have lumped together as junk mail.



I have also given to the Republican Party. Good deeds like these never go unpunished.

Junk mail I divide into three main kinds; others may categorize things differently. My kinds are 1) advertising flyers for everything from grocery stores to restaurants to furniture suppliers to department store sales events to missing children notices; 2) catalogues of all kinds, from Harriet Carter and Starcrest of California to the Christmastime upmarket dandies from the Museum of Modern Art all the way to the top with Neiman Marcus; and 3) fundraising and solicitation "would-be" letters, that is, the computer generated letter pretending to be a real letter. I need not expatiate on the advertising materials, for these are self-evident and at times even useful, such as when they carry coupons for "buy one, get the second free" (not, alas, applicable to missing children). And I shall return later to the catalogues. But, first, to those sometimes intriguing, and, more often, exasperating solicitation letters.

To illustrate the matter of solicitation letters, Criticus will indulge in some further autobiography. There being no Monarchist Party in the United States, Criticus has, from time to time, made modest contributions to other organizations that he hopes will help keep the *sansculottes* at bay. I mean things like: the Howard Jarvis Taxpayers Association, which, with Critical help, has been saving Proposition 13 for about a generation now; Judicial Watch, which has shown admirable Inspector Javert-like doggedness in its pursuit of the Clintons; political campaigns for such as Tom McClintock, James Rogan, and even faraway Rick Lazio (*Hillaria delenda est!);* defense funds for victims of media persecution like Linda Tripp (why was she never Woman of the Year as whistleblower?); and other assorted groups in the Vast Right-Wing Conspiracy, that delicious term that actually turned out to be — Monica Lewinsky. And yes, I have also given to the Republican Party.

As Constant and all other Readers will have guessed, or will know from experience, good deeds like those just described never go unpunished. To take just the most vivid example from my list, I shall tell you about the Republican Party, though the behavior I am about to describe applies, *mutatis mutandis,* to virtually all the organizations that solicit money. Like many others, the Party of Compassionate Conservatism is fond of rewarding contributors with little cards identifying one as a member. I know not what one is supposed to do with such a card, except perhaps carry it in one's wallet in the hope that, if arrested for a traffic violation, it may hold some sway with the arresting officer. More to the point, however, is the real purpose of these soliciting communications, namely, to raise money. The most popular style in this activity is to send the computer letter, duly "personalized" with an occasional computer-programmed "Mr. Tennyson" thrown into the text along the way (a text nobody reads), and/or to include a questionnaire inviting the member to tick off answers to pressing political questions, the answers being how strongly one feels about the issues posed. All of this is then followed by a form on which one marks down how large a contribution one is making to the cause and whether by check or charge and so on.

During the late election campaign, which is to say for many months last year, Criticus received an endless sequence of such letters from the Republican Party, the apparent reason for such a stream being that Criticus wasn't contributing this time around. The chief reason for Critical parsimony was that the letters and questionnaires never contained a single word about immigration. After a time, instead of consigning these letters to the circular file, Criticus began to write little notes about the immigration problem and return them in the pre-paid envelope. At least, I thought, they'll tire of paying postage on letters without contributions. The letters kept coming, so Criticus began scrawling in block capitals across the form, first in black ink, then in red marker pen, the single

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word "IMMIGRATION" and returning the form. No response other than a new solicitation letter.

IF YOU'VE ever wondered what use those inquiring minds make of the return they gain on these letters, you now know. If there's money, they pocket it; if there's none, they treat it as—well, junk mail. And then back to the mailing list they go. Just the other day, Criticus received another solicitation from the same political source informing him that he had not renewed his membership for 2003 but including a membership card all the same. Even more bizarre, Criticus has been informed by the political campaign of a friend of this publication, who shall therefore remain nameless, that because Criticus had failed to provide information about his occupation as required by law (How dare the law require me to provide them with my occupation! Next time I shall write "Curmudgeon") — because, I say, of my failure to provide this information, the campaign was returning that portion of my contribution that exceeded the amount allowed to those who did not provide the required information. As a result, I am now the proud possessor of a check in the amount of one (1) U.S. cent. I can't bring myself to cash it. Indeed, I am thinking of framing it.

The dolls range from Kaya the Nez Perce Indian, to Josefina the New Mexico Hispanic, to Kirsten the Swedish immigrant, to Addy the runaway slave, to Molly for the Anglo contingent.

Still, just as the solicitations keep coming, so Criticus is also unreformed, for as a compulsive reader, I continue to open and at least skim through anything sent to me in the mail. So compulsive a reader is Criticus that once, when he set out for a quick trip to — where else? — the post office, he realized a few blocks underway that he had neglected to toss a magazine into the car, turned back, ran in, picked up a magazine, went out again to the post office, deposited his mail, bought his stamps (still, oddly, a bargain, if you compare with worldwide stamp prices), came immediately home again, and carried the otherwise untouched magazine into the house. But just think, if I had become stuck in traffic or had a car breakdown or had been detained by an officer indifferent to my Republican Party membership card, I should at least have had something to read. In this connection, let me commend to readerholics the poem by Alan Bennett (he of drama fame) called "The Place Names of China" recounting how a compulsive reader seated on the commode in desperation finds himself reading the label on a can of toilet cleanser.

Thus it is that this compulsive reader not only goes through gift catalogues and the like but even reads those with no real connection to his life. The best example I have of this behavior is my response to a catalogue sent to me, for no discernible reason, every few months for well over a year now. It is named *American Girl.* It's a glossy, full-color piece of work, about 10x10 inches, and running to 130 pages in its Holiday editions, of which Criticus received no fewer than *three* different versions in each of the last three months of the past Christmas season. Evidently the catalogue is an offshoot of a magazine of the same name published out of Middleton, Wisconsin. It offers various dolls and accessories for the pre-teen girl, all in very wholesome clothing and settings. No Barbie as Hooters waitress, or whatever she is this season. But in one area it goes Barbie one better.

American Girl out-Barbies Barbie by being very much more ethnically correct than even the recent more diversified members of the Barbie team. One wonders indeed whether the Barbie makers didn't pick up some ideas from *American Girl.* For *AG,* as I shall call it, is full of so many ethnically varied dolls that it calls to mind old numbers of the *National Geographic.* Except, of course, that *AG's* girls are all extensively clothed and are all American, though of varied ethnicity; and each comes with a story, which you can read in full by ordering the book that accompanies each girl. The dolls range from Kaya the Nez Perce Indian, to Josefina the New Mexico Hispanic, to Kirsten the Swedish immigrant, to Addy the runaway slave, to Samantha, Kit, and Molly for the Anglo contingent. Each represents a different period in American history, and each has a politically correct message.

The most revealing thing about the dolls, however, is the fact that they all appear to be identical under the skin and all have the same flat-faced, vacuous ex-

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pression of space aliens or at best of pod people from *The Invasion of the Body Snatchers.* It is the same doll in every case, but variously costumed and colored. For $96 you can even order your doll, like a pizza, to suit your own specifications. There are twenty-one possible permutations from which to choose, ranging from "dark skin, textured black hair, dark brown eyes," to "light skin, blond hair, blue eyes," to "medium skin, black hair, dark brown eyes," to "light skin, red hair, green eyes," to — well, you name it. The idea, presumably, is that each girl can select a doll that looks most like herself. In this ingenious way the creators of *AG* can indulge the current preoccupation with ethnicity while affirming the underlying identity of all the dolls and therefore of all humanity. It is liberal treacle, to be sure, but from the number and expense of the catalogue, it must be profitable. All the same, I'd welcome the return of the Golliwog.

Why trouble myself over such a trifling matter as the *American Girl?* Well, my aim is to show how far popular culture has adopted the liberal mindset, and in turn to make readers wonder how this came to be. It is increasingly being recognized that conservatives won the Cold War only to find that they had made the West safe for "cultural Marxism," which is the true meaning of political correctness. Except that neoconservatives haven't quite noticed this yet and liberals think it is simply the natural order of things. Phenomena like *AG* tend to confirm it. Yet still the left rails at the rapacity of capitalism. I wonder whether these dolls are manufactured in America or in a third-world sweatshop.

A less grand reason for my troubling with *AG* is to show how inane is the mail that the compulsive Criticus actually reads. For that, of course, he has no one to blame but himself. After all, as stated, letters as we have known them are now rarities. If the telephone chased away all but letters from afar, a newer villain has largely dispelled the letter from across the country and increasingly even from across the world. That villain is E-mail.

ALL OF us know both the pros and the cons of E-mail, so I shall not rehearse them at any length here. Leaving aside the pros, I will, however, lament a few of the cons that I think bode ill for the future. The first of these is the disappearance, in E-mail, of the traditional headings and salutations. From long habit Criticus is addicted, even in E-mail, to indicating the date and, as befits the creator of the "Criticus Calendar," the saint's day, at least for those correspondents who are personally known to me as opposed to merely business correspondents. This has struck even friends as quaint. Criticus also still adheres to the traditional salutation, "Dear ...," which he understands was first introduced into correspondence by Saint Anselm, which also is reason enough to preserve it. No one has yet called this quaint, but I find that this form is gradually disappearing in E-mail use. What is now the most common mode of address seems to be "Hi!" I think the reason for this is that it absolves one of the need to write a traditional letter. All E-mail becomes a kind of breezy brief note.

The brief note idea also calls to mind the fact that many E-mailers play fast and loose with grammar and form, some indeed rendering everything in lower case presumably for ease and speed. The most extreme form of this is that mode of communicating called "instant messaging," done chiefly on cell phones equipped with little screens. One gathers that an entire code of abbreviated language has arisen among teenagers especially addicted to this mode of communication. Thus one writes "C U L8er" and similar concoctions rather than spell out the actual words.

No doubt linguists are already studying instant messaging, and we will soon have glossaries of this new kind of alphabetical-*cum*-quasi-pictographic "language." Criticus can offer any such investigators the suggestion that they should include in their studies what Criticus believes may well be the source of this mode of communication. It is nothing less than the personalized license plate. Who among us has not pondered the oftentimes cryptic messages that we see on license plates? Criticus has a particular favorite in this line, that is, a phrase that can mean two opposing things, depending upon how it is said or understood. It came about as follows. A good many years ago I had a student whose initials were DK. His personalized license plate memorably read: "Moral DK."

I asked a learned colleague whether there is a term in rhetoric for this kind of construction. Neither of us knew of one, but he suggested we create such a term. He plumped for *metaphrase,* which is admirably academic, but which already exists as a term meaning translation or paraphrase. I proposed *counter-phrase,* then devised Latin, French, and German equivalents to give it *gravitas.* These are: *contralocutio, contrephrase,* and *Gegensprache.* Quite weighty, I think, though they may well also be quite wrong. The right term may be something else entirely, open to discovery or creation. In any case, the thing itself is on exhibit in the title of this Criticus essay. I leave the reader to puzzle it out. CPR

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